

LIBRARY
SAN FRANCISCO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
SAN ANSELMO, CALIF.

The **CHRISTIAN STATESMAN**

Founded in 1867
Jesus Christ Is Civil Governor among the Nations



OUR SABBATH LAWS
FAIR PLAY FOR THE KLAN
THE BOOTLEGGER AS A TAXPAYER
THINGS CONCERNING THE KINGDOM
TAMMANY AND OTHER POLITICAL MACHINES
THE TWELFTH PAVED WAY FOR GLORIOUS FOURTH
SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM MORMONDOM
COLLEGE PRESIDENT AND ANARCHIST
PHARISEES AND GOVERNOR PINCHOT
GOVERNMENT UNDER GOD IS SAFE
THE BALKY BONUS

Vol. LVIII.

JULY, 1924

No. 7

The National Reform Association

Organized in 1863

HEADQUARTERS:

Publication Bldg., 209 Ninth St., Pittsburgh, Pa.

This Association was founded by men and women who had conducted a great missionary movement to the nation in the years preceding the Civil War. It derived its name from the words of Abraham Lincoln's proclamation of March 30, 1863. He said:—

"It is the duty of nations, as well as of men, to own their dependence upon the overruling power of God, to confess their sins and transgressions in humble sorrow, yet with assured hope that genuine repentance will lead to mercy and pardon, and to recognize the sublime truth announced in the Holy Scriptures, and proven by all history, that those nations only are blessed whose God is the Lord; and insomuch as we know that, by His Divine Law, nations, like individuals, are subjected to punishments and chastisements in this world, may we not justly fear that the awful calamity of civil war which now desolates the land, may be but a punishment inflicted upon us for our presumptuous sins, to the needful end of our NATIONAL REFORMATION as a whole people?"

THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN

(Founded in 1867)

Official Organ of

THE NATIONAL REFORM ASSOCIATION

Published monthly at the offices of the Association at

PITTSBURGH, PA.—Annual subscription \$2.00

THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN

VOL. LVIII

JULY, 1924

NO. 7

CONTENTS

	Page
A Declaration of Dependence	3
Notes by the Way	4
The Bootlegger as a Taxpayer	6
Jabez Says	8
And Martha Says	10
Things Concerning the Kingdom	12
Washington on War	16

OUTLOOK

Government under God or under Graft	17
Pharisees and Governor Pinchot	18
Church and Social Obligations	18
The New Tax Law	19
Manners and Morals Moulded by Movies	20
Partnership with the Devil	21
Cruelty Camouflaged as "Boxing Match"	21
Practical Measure to Prevent Lynching	22
The Latest Whisky Impudence	22
Decent People Can Have Decent Papers	23
Wrong Answer to Farmer's Problem	24
A Sermon in Figures	25
Another Scathing Criticism of Butler	25
The Nordic Discovery of America	26
A Weak Judicial Heart	26
Another President Favors Association of Nations	27
Safety Not in Super-armament	27
Special Correspondence from Mormondom	28
Dirty Weather Ahead	30
The Twelfth Paved Way for Glorious Fourth	31

EDITORIAL

Government Expert Makes Queer Deduction	32
The Foolish Fallacy about the Public Purse	33
Two Separate Issues	34
Our Sabbath Laws	35
College President and Anarchist	38
Congressman Celler Should Tell It All	39
The Wets Evade Issue	40
Tammany and Other Political Machines	40
Fair Play for the Klan	42
The Continuous Objectors	42
The Government Still Lives	43
The Balty Bonus	44
Self Preservation for America	45
Civilization or War	46
The Presbyterian General Assembly	53
Suggestion for Law Enforcement	54
The Roll of Honor	55
For Protestant Unity	55
Spirit of the Methodist Episcopal General Conference	56

CURRENT NOTES AND OPINION

The Plight of the American Farmer	59
William Jennings Bryan on National Reform	59
(From) We Must Not Forget	60
To Meet the Crisis	60
Mormons Buy Building Site in Capital	60
No Compromise with War	61
Lincoln on Liquor	61
Mormon Stolen Publicity	61
People and Events	63
Good Tidings	63

Address contributed articles to the Editorial Department; and business communications to the Business Department; The Christian Statesman, Publication Bldg., 209 Ninth St., Pittsburgh, Pa.

Entered as Second Class matter, July 30, 1906, at Pittsburgh, Pa.,
under Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

The National Reform Association

Organized 1863

Chartered under the laws of the State of Pennsylvania

DIRECTORS

John C. Acheson
W. J. Aiken
J. V. Benson
Frank J. Cannon
James A. Cosby
C. L. Daugherty
Frank H. Davis
Lyman E. Davis
Robert J. Dodds

R. M. Downie
Thomas D. Edgar
Robert J. Gibson
Charles N. Hanna
Wm. Albert Harbison
Daniel L. Marsh
James S. Martin
E. C. McCabe
James S. McGaw

David McNaugher
J. M. McQuilkin
R. W. Redpath
John Rodda
Thomas R. Thoburn
James S. Tibby
J. W. Vickerman
W. I. Wishart
Richard Cameron Wylie

OFFICERS

<i>President</i>	Thomas D. Edgar
<i>Vice-President</i>	J. W. Vickerman
<i>General Secretary</i>	James S. McGaw
<i>Recording Secretary</i>	R. W. Redpath
<i>Treasurer</i>	James S. Tibby
<i>Assistant Treasurer</i>	Henry Peel

REGIONAL OFFICES AND MANAGERS

Boston, Mass., 408 Pierce Bldg., J. M. Tibbetts.

Chicago, Ill., 19 S. LaSalle St., Wm. S. Fleming.

Los Angeles, Calif., 468 West Ave., 52, A. A. Samson.

Columbus, Ohio, 1467 Highland St., C. W. Eldredge.

COMMITTEE ON MANAGEMENT

W. I. Wishart, Thos. R. Thoburn, James S. Martin, James M. McQuilkin, Robert J. Gibson.

COMMITTEE ON RELATION WITH THE CHURCHES

Chairman.....James M. McQuilkin

THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN

Founded 1867

Official organ of The National Reform Association

Published at 209 Ninth St., Pittsburgh, Pa. \$2.00 the year.

<i>Editor-in-chief</i>	Richard Cameron Wylie
<i>Associate Editor</i>	Dorothy C. Hyde
<i>Business Manager</i>	Arthur B. Cooper

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION

Thomas D. Edgar, Richard Cameron Wylie, Lyman E. Davis, James S. Martin, Arthur B. Cooper; Chairman, Frank J. Cannon.

A Declaration of Dependence

We hold these truths to be self-evident:

That all created men owe their highest obligation to their Creator. That this obligation exists upon men in their institutional life as well as in their individual life.

That all organizations of human creatures, and all the institutions of society—including civil government, are under the direct authority of the Creator.

That this authority has been bestowed upon a Mediatorial Ruler, Jesus Christ; and that He is Civil Governor among the Nations as well as the Saviour of individual men.

That to Him we owe our first allegiance as men, and as nations of men.

And that upon Him, our own nation and all the nations of the earth are dependent for their opportunity to enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Notes by the Way

Go to War. Or come to Christ. Which?

Beware the unloaded gun and the overloaded canoe.

Any of Our Boys can get that insurance bonus by dying for it.

That procured indictment of Senator Wheeler, just Burns—William J.

You can't put slag into the American melting pot and run off pure gold.

Parents: If you want to keep the devil out of the school, put the Bible in.

If the rich Germans will quit squandering, the poor Germans will quit starving.

President Coolidge has picked up several pointers on training Wild Elephants.

Educating youth past morals—that's what the devil wants for the next generation.

Just listen to the holler, and you'll know who is pinched out by the new immigration law.

They must bait their trap with bigger meat than the Vice Presidency, if they want to catch Borah.

Just a reminder: It was a man named Christensen who ran on the third party ticket in 1920.

Breathe easy once more; that "death dealing diabolic ray" with which inventors were scaring humanity, has burned out its fuse.

Repudiating old debts as a basis for borrowing new money, is Soviet Russia's idea of Utopian finance.

We wish Bryan would go to the Senate. He and Borah might have their first love feast since 1896.

The congressman who can't live honestly on his salary at Washington, can honestly quit being a congressman.

The Republicans are ahead of the Democrats in putting the "con" into Convention, but the Democrats will arrive.

If Coolidge really likes the circus, he ought to hear two rival spellbinders explaining away Albert Fall and Ed. Doheny.

If LaFollette, sick, could stir up most of last year's trouble; what a mess LaFollette, well, can make for his party this year.

It must seem good to the congressmen to get back home where they can cuss the Government for all our national woes.

Holding out on the Veterans' Bureau to pay the Veterans' bonus, was a clever Coolidge way of "passing the buck" back to Congress.

To be an "innocent and unfortunate victim of circumstances," is to be caught with the goods—according to former Representative Langley.

Tainted by Newberryism and drenched by disloyalty to party leadership, some of the going out senators may find it rough riding to get back in.

Calvin, himself, seems to be the one leader who can keep perfectly cool with Coolidge.

If the banks will treat the bootlegger as they want the rest of society to treat the bank robber, there will be an awful panic in the bootlegging business.

With Senator Watson supporting the Klan candidate for the Indiana governorship, Senator Mayfield of Texas can count one friend on the Senate jury.

If Coolidge is re-elected, most of his party senators will find their lost loyalty. Four years of patronage and power are irresistible arguments.

The platform that is outspoken Wet, is just plain Wet and we know "where it is at." But the platform that is not outspoken Dry, is half Wet—and we may fear the worst.

Tens of thousands of THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN readers are putting the real Pro into Protestant. They are not attacking anybody's right; they are merely holding their own.

We ripen some of our green "intellectuals" as we ripen green bananas—in dark caverns; and when they begin to decay we allow them to circulate for American consumption.

Hon. Clinton N. Howard was raised a Quaker, but his address to the national conventions was a grim declaration of war against any politician who helps the bootlegging brigade.

Let's see. Didn't some of the pompous senators threaten to investigate Edward Bok? Here's the Senate all adjourned, and the dangerous Mr. Bok and the Peace Plan still at large.

The Bobbed Hair Bandit—poor wretched product of the slums—got stern justice, and she got it at once. But Albert Fall—trusted Cabinet officer—gets delays, and then more delays.

An Ohio school girl went to New York, fell into crime, and was brought before a magistrate. He read to her a chapter from the Bible and sent her back home. Might have been better to read the Bible to her in Ohio schools before she could go wrong.

At home; healthy and lovely. Beauty contest; half-dressed; prize winner; show-girl; cigarettes and cocktails; bought and paid for; tossed aside for a new prize-winner. Back home; broken and bruised and unlovely. All in one year, as told in the newspapers.

STORY OF THE MONTH

In Australia is an Episcopal clergyman named Daniels.

In Australia is a parish whose extent is more than 40,000 square miles in area. It is as large as the State of Tennessee. Its villages are from 100 to 200 miles apart.

Before he went into the ministry, Daniels was a pilot in the British air service through the Great War.

After trying all the ordinary means of reaching his parishioners with religious services, he has bought an aeroplane and now thinks that he can make forty or fifty pastoral calls and hold eight services every week.

On the wings of the morning, and on the wings of the noon day, and on the wings of the evening time, he will bring consolation and help to outlying villages as well as to lonely farmsteads in all that mighty region, to which he is called as a messenger of the Gospel.

Daniels has an estate more precious than that of the Duke of Westminster.

And he is a resident landlord.

The Bootlegger as a Taxpayer

By THOMAS L. COMSTOCK

This is an age full of amazements for ordinary people.

But of all the amazing things which I note in the current events, it is not the radio, nor the flight around the world; not the gyrations of near statesmen at Washington, nor the scandals there and elsewhere in official life, which most arouse my wonder.

Above all other amazing things in its enormous extent, is the bootlegging business in the United States.

I am not one who believes that prohibition is in any sense a failure, or that the Constitution or the law will be modified. But while holding fast to the certainty, proved over and over again by the statistics, that the consumption of liquor is less now than in the old days, and that prosperity attended upon the driving of the saloon out of business; I am yet in a state of almost petrified astonishment at the magnitude and openness with which the bootlegging fraternity conducts its affairs.

Investigation shows that the bootlegger pays an income tax to the United States Government on his illicit business. Thus he must take the Government into confidential relation with him. He must tell under oath what were his gains in this business of murder by poison—murder of bodies and murder of souls. According to reports, he is as closely investigated as any other "business man." And right here comes the first shock of awful surprise.

The Internal Revenue Bureau knows of the bootlegger and of his transactions; and it collects the full tax upon his illicit profits.

But the Internal Revenue Bureau

does not furnish to the law enforcement officials any information concerning the criminal!

It is considered not good form for one bureau to exchange information with another bureau upon such a delicate matter.

So after the bureau has collected its two or its four or its twenty-five per cent from the bootlegger, he goes his way—unless some law enforcement official shall find him out by independent investigation.

Of all the rot that ever characterized circumlocution and delay and expense, this would seem to be the worst.

First, the Internal Revenue Bureau ought to take from him the full amount of tax; and then immediately it should supply the information so that he can be arrested and fined to the full extent of all the remainder of his illicit gains—besides being thrust into prison. How are we ever going to drive him out of business if such finicky relation shall exist between bureaus—if the bootlegger's secret must be guarded by Government officials as if it were a noble and sacred trust?

The great bootleg rings, now almost openly financed to the extent of tens of millions of dollars, are chuckling while this sort of drivelling delicacy can be used as a protection.

The arrogant brute, swollen in purse and paunch, struts into the tax collecting department, makes his confession of wholesale crime and enormous profits from his crime, pays a percentage to the Government; and then struts out to his limousine, fully as-

sured that his confession is safely beyond the reach of law enforcement officials.

The only excuse which I have been able to discover for this astonishing attitude on the part of public officials, is that the bootlegger would refuse to make his returns to the Internal Revenue Bureau, if he were not fully assured that the information would be held under lock and key.

That is about as piffling an excuse as could be invented. What if he did refuse to give his returns? He would then be in exactly the same position as any other man who has made a profit and has failed to make an accounting; subject to investigation, to fine, to confiscation and even to imprisonment for that failure—plus his liability for violation of the prohibition laws.

The actual fact is that he purchases immunity by giving up a small percentage of his gains. And while such circumstances as these characterize the treatment of the bootlegger by the national Government, it is quite certain that he will find some equally easy means of adjusting his local relations.

We are told that the bootleggers are building a fleet of fast craft, spending as much as \$50,000 on one small motor with sixteen hundred horse power engines, which will race through the waters of the lakes, or up and down the coast, carrying illicit stocks from ships at sea to warehouses on the docks.

These craft are known; the owners are known; their business is known. And it is only once in a while that one of the rum fleet is caught, and destroyed or confiscated.

They operate with almost as much immunity as the Chinese pirates used to have in the old days. It is bewildering, it is stupefying, the freedom which these people enjoy in contracting for their boats, in building

them and docking them and obtaining license for their operation; when from the first moment to the last the illicit character of their business is thoroughly known to local officials.

I reiterate what has been said several times, in one form or another, in THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN. The right way to treat this matter is exactly the same way that the Government takes in dealing with counterfeiting.

Suppose a man were engaged in making false money and his profits were to amount to a million a year. Would the Internal Revenue Bureau collect the income tax on his gains, and fail to turn the information over to the officers of the law who could seize the counterfeiting plant and the counterfeiter himself?

Suppose boats were building at Brooklyn, upon which it was known that counterfeitters were intending to locate plants with which to produce spurious money. Would they be allowed to operate up and down the waters of our harbors and out at sea? Certainly not. They would be seized by the secret service men, and all their paraphernalia confiscated; and the operators would be sent to Atlanta or Leavenworth.

More and more my amazement and indignation grow at the tenderness with which the bootlegger is treated in this country.

He is a criminal of the most vicious and insolent type. He is potentially a murderer. He is a destroyer of all social safety. He is the arch enemy of the Republic.

And when any bureau of this Government, or any local official, has information concerning the bootlegger, he is under just as much obligation to supply the facts to the law enforcement officials and to have the thing checked, as he would be under obligation to prevent a case of counterfeiting, or to stop an attempted bomb throwing or to bring a murderer to justice.

Jabez Says

Fathers and mothers, teach to your children that there is something more important in life than riding in a motor car.

There is duty which can be performed without a motor car. There is pleasure which can be enjoyed without a motor car.

You must do something to check the motor car madness which is dominating the minds of the youth of America.

Magistrates are doing all in their power to check it, many of the magistrates are giving hours of anxious concern each day to a study of how to deal with the problem. Police officers report that the greater part of motor car thefts are perpetrated by boys and girls still in their teens. When a case of this kind is brought before the conscientious magistrate, he wants to preserve the youth while still maintaining the dignity of the law. But he is in a quandary. If he suspend sentence the youth may go out and perpetrate the crime again. If he impose a fine, the penalty falls upon the parent. If he send the boy or girl to jail, he fears that he is making a criminal out of a youthful person who is potentially good. Both magistrates and police officers are sounding a note of alarm.

The remedy must begin at home. And that remedy is not alone in teaching honesty to the child, but it is in giving to youth some better ideal than joy-riding.

The young person who feels that life is a dread waste without the motor car ride, does not stop to think of the honesty or dishonesty, nor of the legal or moral consequences, attendant upon taking a car for his pleasure. He is driven by motor madness, and he neither weighs principles of integrity nor considers legal consequences.

The fathers and mothers of America

would better wake up. When more than half the motor car thefts in the United States are perpetrated by children in their teens, it must be that the wrong ideal has been fostered in them. The first cure for this must be in the home. If it be left solely to the police and the courts, they will very soon have to suspend their mercy, and administer heavy punishment. The homes will lose the young people and the jails will get them.

The Anti-Saloon League of New York had a card catalogue recording the vote of all the members of the legislature. In writing about this matter, John Corbin, who reviews books, for the *New York Times*, says that this card catalogue savored of thumb screw and faggot, according to the admission of legislators. And he himself says that the "cruelty of it was indescribable."

This is a new light on the state of soul or mind of the New York legislator.

It is the thumb screw and the faggot, it is cruelty indescribable, for his record to be carried from session to session and made public for the edification of his constituents. Assumedly then, it would be all ease and comfort for the legislator if he could vote as that old-time western state senator advised his people he would do. He said: "I am goin' to the legislatoor and I'll vote as I doggone please. And I'll take a shot at any doggone man that asks me to explain afterward."

That old boy was merely in advance of his time. He lived in a border state where people were in favor of direct action. After his supercandid speech, they declined to send him to the legislature any more, and gave their votes to a man who was willing to meet his

own record face to face. It appears that the happy status which that western legislator desired is demanded in New York. No record must be kept on the legislators and they must be free to deny tomorrow what they did yesterday, and to keep in dark concealment from taxpaying constituents, their action on bills for the public welfare.

Any intimate study of the doings of the legislature in New York State 'savors of the thumb screw and fag-got' and is 'cruelty indescribable.'

And meanwhile the public is in favor of more of that kind of cruelty.

No one has a right to express adverse opinions of our public men merely because it is the fashion. But sometimes when a sincerely held opinion, put into print by a writer, is challenged by partisan admirers of a public man under criticism, it is just as well to cite corroborating opinions from authoritative sources.

Some slight animadversions upon Senator Lodge have brought rather sharp rebukes from Republican admirers of this Republican leader.

Without apologizing for any expressions which I may have used, and without lessening my own responsibility, I respectfully direct such partisan supporters to the following editorial statement concerning Mr. Lodge, made by the *New York Tribune*, which is probably the chief Republican organ of the country.

Whose names figure at the top of the list of dishonor, which is too long to be recapitulated here? Undoubtedly Mr. Lodge's stands first. As the Republican leader, the only Republican senator from the President's state, the senior New England member in the upper branch of Congress, his betrayal of the party was the most ignominious.

It is not necessary that one shall accept hasty or ill-tempered judgment of disappointed publicists, in order to establish a serious opinion concerning

the public mind. Such thoughtless acceptance leads to misjudgment. But in this particular case, the view held by the leading Republican organ of the country is probably one formed after long consideration, and is not too harshly expressed. Those who have studied most intimately the peculiar attacks made by Mr. Lodge in recent years have wondered why the Republican majority of the Senate has allowed him to remain in a position of destructive leadership. He does not lead. The Republicans do not follow. He obstructs, and the Administration cannot go forward.

I wish our people in this country knew how to accommodate themselves to the changing social order as well as the British do.

We are prone to think of the people over there as slow-pokes.

They are very much quicker to sense a world condition than we are. They are very much more accommodating in their acceptance of change than we are.

Not long ago I told of an aristocratic ball in London given by duchesses, countesses, and all the West End people, to their serving folk who come from the East End. Gentility was glad to get the guineas from grime.

And here is something more. The Carlton Club is the most exclusive of London's aristocratic bodies. Viscount Younger is the leader of high Scotch Toryism and was formerly a chief whip of the coalition government.

And at the Carlton Club, with Viscount Younger in the chair, a few weeks ago fifty-five bricklayers were entertained at luncheon.

The new order is coming into existence in Britain without a revolution.

Let's quit talking about the slow, conservative, stolid British; and let's take a lesson from their intelligence, their toleration, their justice—and their acceptance of inevitable progress.

And Martha Says

Mary E. Wooley, president of Mt. Holyoke College, says that the flapper isn't so bad as she is painted. That's good; because she is certainly very badly painted.

We are paying our debt to Europe. For generations we have been importing old masters from the old world—Rembrandt, Van Dyke, Velasquez, Titian, etc; and now we are sending them some modern masters, Pershing, Dawes, Hoover, and Root.

An American woman, Mrs. Arthur J. Willson of Philadelphia, is the kind of wife "more precious than rubies." She thinks a request from her husband more important than a command from royalty. Mrs. Willson had been "commanded" to sing before the King and Queen of Spain at a splendid reception. But at almost the same instant she received a cable from her husband in America saying: "Come home. I am lonely." She didn't even hesitate. The King of Spain is merely the king of Spain. But Mrs. Willson's husband is King of her heart.

Some of the women Drys of New York State are said to have been inveigled into the Al Smith camp through the governor's support of certain welfare legislation.

Where is their discrimination and their sense of proportion?

Welfare legislation is undoubtedly desirable, but the big national issue demanding the first attention of the women voters of the United States is the enforcement of law—specifically the Prohibition law, since it is at that point that all law is being attacked. Women of the best conscience and the clearest vision will not weaken on this

question. And they will follow the advice of Paul "Be not unequally yoked with unbelievers: for what fellowship have righteousness and iniquity?"

A splendid thing about most women is that they will not compromise with wrong. It is only a month or two since I was writing of that trait, as the force that might redeem politics from the degradation brought about by the bargaining of men politicians for partisan and personal advantage.

So my optimism and my faith in my own sex have had a blow in the alleged action of those New York women.

Can't they see that Governor Smith is offering them a lollipop with one hand and a lighted bomb with the other?

Prohibition is the first born of the American-woman-vote, and I'm against any Herod who decrees the death of that child of promise.

People who are anxious to bolster up their social prominence by their real or fictitious claim to distinguished ancestry, would better hop aboard the "Nieuw Nederland" before it is overcrowded. Long ago, the "Mayflower" lineage became so popular that if all the claims were justified the Pilgrim ship would have sunk before it could ever have cleared harbor.

Probably the next best aristocratic start is to have a great, great, great someone or other who came over with the Huguenots, interest in whom has been revived by the Huguenot-Walloon Tercentenary.

Here is a hint for climbers. If your ancestors were not on the Pilgrim "Mayflower," perhaps you can book them on the Huguenot "Nieuw Nederland."

Flapperism is not a state of age but a state of mind.

In Chicago two sisters, both considerably over fifty, were brought into court for fighting on the question of bobbing their hair. One sister had been bobbed and insisted that the other should be.

And a seventy-two year old woman in New York set herself on fire while smoking a cigar.

All is not youth that flaps.

Everyone will sympathize with the parents of that murdered boy in Chicago; and everyone will pity in their greater sorrow, the parents of the two young college students who have confessed responsibility for the lad's death.

But no one except a maudlin sentimentalist will wish to see the murderers escape a just penalty. Yet we are probably in for one of those exhibitions of legal skill and finesse unscrupulously exerted, that are making a travesty of law in the United States. The procedure is so familiar as to have gained a dangerous tolerance—evasion and delays, quibbling and hair-splitting, hypothetical questions and synthetical assertions; all directed toward building up a defense based on the insanity of the slayers.

It would be unreasonable and unmerciful to exact the same accountability and to impose the same penalty in the case of an insane and a sane person. But unless we are to grant, what is sometimes claimed, that all murderers are insane—or at least abnormal, even the most tender-hearted of us must wonder what will be the outcome of this frequent plea of insanity as a defense for the cruel and cold-blooded taking of human life.

And one wonders also, if we shall not some time make a distinction between the insanity which is a misfortune and

the demoniac possession which is a crime in itself, since it comes from yielding oneself voluntarily to satanic influence. No evil spirit can gain possession of a soul where it is not first entertained as a guest.

The two Chicago students have been sufficiently sane to achieve notable success in their college work. They were considered brilliantly intellectual. But one of them has said boastfully, that he had made an intensive study of decadence. He had deliberately given himself over to the contemplation of evil for a long time, and it finally gained ascendancy over him. He had cultivated his mind, but he had turned his spirit over to a rank and poisonous growth that choked every natural human feeling and made him a moral monster.

The Chicago tragedy is a terrible lesson to parents, to youth, and to society. It is the poison fruit of a union of intellectual "kultur" and spiritual degeneracy.

The headlines shriek tragedy and warning, and newspaper readers go on accepting the tragedy as gruesome entertainment and disregarding the warning entirely.

It's a queer quirk in human nature that makes us feel that the horrors that befall other people couldn't happen to us. We *know* that we could be killed or hurt or disgraced, but we don't *believe* it. Our feeling is that we bear charmed lives—and reputations.

Everyone thinks he can "get by" with the very things that bring other people to disaster. No one will learn by any one's else experience but his own.

So people go on speeding, drinking, grafting, intriguing.

And so each morning there is a new crop of headliners whose recklessness, physical or moral, has come to its logical end in death or shame.

Things Concerning the Kingdom

BY RICHARD CAMERON WYLIE

During the forty days that intervened between the resurrection and ascension of our Lord, whenever He met with His disciples, the subject of conversation was "the things concerning the Kingdom of God." The Scriptures make no mention of the discussion on these occasions of any other topic. It was not a new subject to the people of that day. It seems rather to have been the one subject in which all classes were interested. But the New Testament records and current Jewish literature make it clear that the popular ideas of the Kingdom were exceedingly erroneous. Evidently Christ's disciples shared those erroneous ideas. Since their mission as Christ's ambassadors was to preach the Gospel of the Kingdom, it was necessary that these errors be corrected. This must have been the purpose of Christ in these interviews with His disciples just before His ascension.

When we read the first chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, where the facts just mentioned are recorded, perhaps we sometimes wish that Luke had favored us with a record of the things Jesus then said concerning the Kingdom. But since we have the four gospels, the record of apostolic activities, and a goodly number of canonical epistles, it is a fair inference that we are furnished with all the essential facts concerning this matter.

The Kingdom idea is just as important today as it was in the first Christian century. It is the one supreme Christian concept to which all others are subordinate. But there is no Biblical topic on which there is more confusion of thought. It has

always been so. Only by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, were the disciples of our Lord sufficiently enlightened to become the efficient ambassadors of the Kingdom. After nineteen hundred years of Christian history, this confusion of thought does not seem to be materially diminished. Doubtless this is one reason why the Kingdom itself makes such slow progress in the world.

The multitudinous alleged definitions of the Kingdom, which one seems morally bound to read before attempting to write on the subject, produce a very disheartening effect. The question arises, is it worth while to make the attempt? Why add one more failure to the long list of failures that have been made? And yet these very failures teach an important lesson. They warn against every mere philosophical and metaphysical definition. They also suggest that success will be achieved by a close adherence to the Scriptures and by the illumination of the Holy Spirit. Let us see therefore, whether we can find in the Bible all the material necessary for framing a correct definition of the Kingdom. Certainly Jesus meant that it should be so.

A beginning must be made by getting a correct knowledge of the word "kingdom," which in the Greek is "*basileia*." Any one of ordinary intelligence will find before he has read very far, that this word has two different but closely related meanings. It sometimes means the *realm* over which a king reigns, and at other times it means the *reign* itself. Professor James Moffat, of Oxford, has made use

of this fact in his new translation of the New Testament. He may have made some mistakes in his translation as to when it means Realm and when it means Reign. Nevertheless it is a fact that the word has these two meanings, that sometimes it means the one and sometimes the other. But sometimes both ideas may be included in the same sentence. We will make use of this fact in our further discussion. It will be of great service in bringing to light the teachings of Scripture.

When a definition of the Kingdom is called for, the first thing to be settled is, whether it is a definition of the Realm or of the Reign that is wanted. Probably it is a definition of both.

Attention should be given first of all to the Realm. There is no reason for disputing about the teaching of Scripture on this point. Among the heathen who believed in polytheism, the idea prevailed that all their gods were mere local or national rulers, and that the entire universe is divided among them. They do not seem to have had any conception of a realm over which no god presided, but they did frequently have a vague conception of one supreme divinity who was over all the others and consequently ruler of the universe. The Scriptures frequently declare, against all these erroneous ideas, that Jehovah is the one supreme God who is Lord of all. This idea is so commonly presented in the Bible that it is not necessary to quote proof texts. The practical questions for us however are these: By whom is the government of the universe administered? Is Jesus Christ the actual Ruler? It is an undisputed fact that He is a King, but does His Realm include the nations of the world?

It has long been a prevalent notion that Christ's Kingdom is the Christian Church. Probably Augustine is to be held responsible for originating

this idea, but the Roman Catholics adopted it and developed it in a way altogether foreign to the views of Augustine. They recognize no church but the visible Roman Catholic church which they hold is Christ's Kingdom, over which the Roman pontiff presides as Christ's, vicegerent. On this theory nations are related to the Kingdom by being subject to the papacy.

In a modified form this ecclesiastical conception of the Kingdom passed over into the churches of the Reformation. The Reformers, at least some of them, held that the invisible church is the Kingdom of Christ, although they could not maintain this view with any degree of consistency. They could not explain many Bible texts in harmony with it. Some of the most prominent of these texts may here be mentioned. Jesus Himself, in commissioning His apostles, authorized them to go into all nations, and He based His right so to do on the fact that He had received all authority to rule both in heaven and on earth. (Matt. 28:18). In setting forth the claims of Christ in the house of Cornelius, Peter declared that "He is Lord of all." (Acts 10:36). In his epistles, Paul again and again asserts the universality of the dominion of Jesus Christ. He does this most clearly and emphatically in Ephesians 1:20-23; Philippians 2:9-11; and I Corinthians 15:25-28. It requires a species of wresting of Scripture to get rid of the idea that nations are within the boundaries of His Kingdom.

There are a number of descriptive terms employed by inspired writers which have given rise to no small amount of profitless controversy, and which are used to break the force of the direct Biblical argument. These terms are, "the Kingdom of God," "the Kingdom of Heaven," "the Kingdom of Christ and of God," "the Kingdom of His dear Son," "the everlasting Kingdom of our Lord and

Saviour Jesus Christ." The attempt is made to show that there are various kingdoms recognized in these passages, and that nations do not belong to the Realm over which Jesus Christ reigns. But it should be noticed that in not a single instance is the plural number used in speaking of **THE KINGDOM**. The Realm is one, but it consists of many parts and provinces. It sometimes happens that special reference is made to some one or more of these parts, but in so far as the Realm is concerned, in its entirety it is the universe. The descriptive terms just quoted designate this one Kingdom in its various aspects.

Our present concern is with the nations, which certainly form a part of this Kingdom, and very especially with the United States of America. If a book had been written in apostolic days for the special purpose of exhibiting the authority of Jesus Christ over the nations, it could not have been done more effectively than it was done in the book of Revelation. This book, as to its main contents, can be understood only when it is viewed as setting forth the age-long conflict between the forces of righteousness and unrighteousness for dominion over the nations. In the account of the temptation of Jesus we are told that the devil claimed this dominion, and that Christ did not dispute the claim. Satan offered it to Christ on condition that Christ would acknowledge him as supreme. The very fact that Satan made the offer is proof that he knew that Christ was the rightful ruler, and that His program included the redemption of the nations from satanic tyranny. The book of Revelation unfolds the process whereby this redemption is accomplished, and when the conflict is over the proclamation is made by heavenly voices, that "the kingdoms of the world have become the Kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ." (Rev. 11:15).

In our judgment therefore, and we are sure that the Scriptures so declare, there is no room for dispute as to the Realm over which Christ reigns. But we are now to give attention to His Reign, as is required by the fact that this is the second idea involved in the word "kingdom."

It will be conceded by all who believe in a personal, transcendent God, that He reigns over His vast dominion. But how are His governmental functions performed? Is it by the exercise of the powers and prerogatives of absolute divinity, or is it by some other method? Since the term "mediator" is found in the Bible, no apology need be made for making use in this discussion, of the theological concept which the word embodies. If sin had never entered the world, perhaps there would have been no need for a mediator and consequently no need for the word. But since we are a fallen race, a mediator became necessary if men are to be saved. Jesus Christ is the Mediator. That is His official title. As Mediator He is Prophet, Priest, and King.

The questions that must now be answered are: How much of God's universal dominion was placed under the administration of Jesus Christ as Mediatorial King? How much of it needed His mediatorial rulership? How much of it did He need so as to make a success of His administration? These questions must now be answered.

By His mediatorial activities as Priest, Jesus Christ has secured a season of gracious forbearance for all men and nations. Had this not been done we have no reason to believe that the human race would exist as a fallen race today. If the infliction of the penalty for sin had been retained in the hands of an absolute God, it would have been inflicted long ago. It is because the administration of the Kingdom is in the hands of the Mediatorial King, that individuals and na-

tions enjoy a long season of gracious forbearance. Both individuals and nations needed the Mediator in His three-fold office, and are placed under His scepter. So much then for this theological idea which occupies such a small place in modern thought.

How much of God's universal Kingdom does Jesus Christ need to make His administration successful? It seems from Scripture that He purposed using it all. Surely this must have been in His mind when He declared that all authority both in heaven and on earth had been given to Him. Suppose any part of it were not included. What part would it be, and what place would it fill in the divine plan? Objectors say that nations are not included. If that is so of what use are they? One class of people says that they are under the dominion of the devil, and that they will remain under his control till Jesus returns corporeally and takes His seat on the throne of David. But, according to Peter, He is already on the throne of David—or rather the throne which David's throne typified. (Acts 2:29-36). Moreover, all the Scriptures quoted above, state most clearly that His enthronement over all things, including the nations, is an accomplished fact. The tense of the verbs employed makes this very clear. But they also make it clear that many peoples and nations existing within His Realm have not yet submitted to His Reign. They still render submission to Satan the proud usurper.

This brings us to the consideration of two aspects of Christ's Reign. He is never in haste, but He is not slack as some men count slackness. He makes use of two kinds of force to give success to His administration, namely, physical and spiritual. He delights especially to use spiritual force whereby individuals are regenerated and transformed, and whereby whole communities and nations are Christianized.

He gives plenty of time for this force to operate. Previous to Christ's advent, God's Kingdom was exemplified and typified in the Hebrew nation. In a very definite manner, that Kingdom had a new beginning with the beginning of the Christian dispensation. A new administration was inaugurated with the life, work, death, resurrection, ascension and enthronement of Jesus Christ. This is what is meant by many expressions in the gospels concerning the Kingdom. It was said to be "at hand" and to have "come near." These and similar expressions refer to the Reign of Christ, whereby, through divine grace, opportunity for repentance is given. This opportunity is given to both individuals and nations. When Christ taught us to pray, "Thy Kingdom come," he had reference, not to the Realm, but to submission to His Reign by the entire population within the Realm. When we keep before us the two distinct ideas involved in the word "kingdom," we realize at once that as far as the Realm is concerned it remains stationary, since it already includes every thing that exists. But as for the Reign, it is progressively bringing into subjection disobedient subjects. And as fast as they are subdued, whether they be individuals or nations, they are employed in the furtherance of Christ's cause.

But there is frequent need of using force, because there are some men and some nations which are bent on their own destruction. This is the explanation of wars and many other calamities that befall the human race, whereby rebellious nations are overthrown.

It is persistently declared, in opposition to the claims here set forth, that religion is purely a personal matter, and that it does not require an acknowledgment of Christ by such an institution as civil government. But it is proper for us to inquire; How much of human nature did Christ re-

deem? How much of it is regenerated by the lifegiving power of the Spirit? How much of it is the subject of conversion? Our political nature is as much a part of us as any other element of our being. It was made a part of us by our Creator. Like all the rest of us it has suffered from the Fall and has become the servant of Satan. Is it to be left under satanic control, or is it the subject of redemption? Can a human being be saved at all unless the whole of his being is saved? It follows therefore that our political nature as well as the rest of us, belongs to Christ.

But this political nature is social. It functions only in the political sphere, which is the sphere of national and governmental life. Even if we start with the assumption that religion is personal—which it is before everything else—we cannot stop till we reach the conclusion that Christ is the Ruler of nations.

This discussion leads logically to the Christian Amendment. The principles presented are fundamental political principles. They must form a part of the vital constitution of every Christian nation. To ignore them in the written constitution is to invite national disaster.

It is a fact that our state constitutions, with scarcely an exception, contain acknowledgments of God. It is also a fact that some people who approve of such acknowledgments, object to the acknowledgment of Jesus Christ. But what have we to do with God, apart from Jesus Christ? Nothing whatever.

But who is the God whom we acknowledge in our state constitutions? The distinctive title of the God of the Christian world is Jehovah. And He is the same as the Lord Jesus Christ revealed in the New Testament.

That the spirit of Christ should pre-

vail in national life is almost universally recognized. Even the Jews have so declared. But if His spirit should be dominant He himself must be King.

Opponents of the Christian Amendment have undertaken an impossible task. They have undertaken the task of eliminating nations from the universal dominion of Jesus Christ; the task of proving that His royal titles are mere honorary titles and imply no real authority; the task of showing how nations can have dealings with God apart from Jesus Christ; the task of justifying nations in attempting to remove from the head of Christ the crown of universal authority placed there by the Father.

If our inquiry about the Kingdom refers to the Realm, the answer is, it is the Universe.

If the inquiry refers to the Reign the answer is, it is the administration of the Divine government by Jesus Christ over all things, whereby through His gracious dispensation He subdues men and nations to Himself; and whereby He judicially punishes and overthrows the persistently rebellious.

WASHINGTON ON WAR

The opponents of the World Court and of the League are fond of quoting George Washington.

Here is one of his sentences which indicates how favorable he would be toward any world fraternity—call it Court or call it League or Association—which would bring men into peaceful accord: "My first wish is to see this plague of mankind, War, banished from the earth."

And the World Court and the League of Nations are the abolitionists of war.

OUTLOOK

GOVERNMENT UNDER GOD OR UNDER GRAFT

When men in high power, whose authority is ordained of God, pay their devotion to Him, their lesser attendants are inspired by example and by precept, as well as admonished by the watchful care of superiors, to serve in official righteousness.

But when men who hold place of authority give themselves over to the service of evil—rebellious against the ordination which belongs to their high office—it is certain that their inferiors in station will take license, and go to corruption in their official work.

An instance of this degradation is made public now at Washington, in the humiliating story by George H. Carter, the present public printer of the United States.

He said in May, 1924, in a public address, that he had been compelled to wage a war against a secret oath-bound clique of minor and other officials of the printing office, who had been making a concerted attempt to substitute their authority for that of the constituted rule. He said that a gambling ring and a bootlegging ring had been in operation in the printing office without restraint; that more than a thousand dollars a day had been bet among the employees on the horse races; that results and bets had been brought into the Government office over a private telephone wire operated by a Government employee; and that chiefs of divisions had been taking a share in this orgy of gambling.

He said that liquor had been distilled in the offices of the public printing establishment; that employees, from foreman to apprentices, had been engaged in bootlegging; and that one

man had been called "the custodian of congressional liquor."

It would be unfair to hold that any President of the United States had been directly responsible for evil conditions growing up under his administration. But it is fair to say that if the President himself publicly dedicated his entire service to Jesus Christ the Ruler, and proclaimed himself as a servant of the Divine Governor, impressing this upon all his Cabinet; and if the Cabinet officers gave the same dedication, and required from their subordinates the same kind of submission; such evils could not flourish.

We have had government by political party. A devotion to partisanship has been the high loyalty demanded. Such devotion has been rewarded by place of opportunity; and men have used their positions to enrich themselves and their friends and to promote party welfare.

The President of the United States has stood apart from all this and above it all.

But the President of the United States is responsible before God and the nation for the conduct of his administration. When minor officials betray his trust, he has to go before God and the people and acknowledge that unrighteousness has prevailed under his governorship.

There is but one known protection of government. And that is to devote itself to Jesus Christ the Ruler. When the President does this in all his public life, as our Presidents do in their private lives, and when he requires the same kind of submission from all his appointees; they in turn will demand from all their subordinates a loyalty which can protect them from shame, while at the same time giving honor to the King.

PHARISEES AND GOVERNOR PINCHOT

The Pharisee is in politics as well as elsewhere.

By overwhelming majority expressed at the polls and in many other ways, Governor Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania has been endorsed by his own people in the two years just now closing. His campaign for law enforcement within his state, and his larger campaign in which he has battled against the strongest, for law enforcement in the United States at large; these have won for him admiration and a confidence unequalled in these days of turmoil.

That the man is fearless is evident. That he is sincere is undeniable.

And yet when he was candidate for delegate to the national convention of his party, his name was swept away by a deluge of votes, produced by the machine which opposes his law enforcement program and bitterly opposes any further recognition of him which may express itself as a greater influence in his own state and throughout the country.

The 250,000 majority which went against Gifford Pinchot was a part of a vast vote which came from the people who, in private relation and in their public utterance, claim their regard for law and express approval of his daring single-handed fight against lawbreakers, low and high.

It is rank Pharisaism for the people of Pennsylvania or any other state to approve a courageous governor's fight for the maintenance of law and order, and then—at the command of the machine—to humiliate him and discourage his following throughout the nation.

More than a moiety of the votes cast against Gifford Pinchot were from people who were counted good citizens in their communities. They would resent any other designation. They would

get red in the face if one implied that they were in sympathy with the law breakers. And yet they smite the leader of the law enforcement forces.

Pharisaism is a mild word. There was one out of twelve who betrayed the Holy One.

There are more than one out of every twelve who betrayed Gifford Pinchot—and in betraying him threw away the prestige of the cause to which he devotes the best energies of a fearless soul.

And some of them spent \$70,000 of their own or other people's money to shut him out of the national convention.

CHURCH AND SOCIAL OBLIGATIONS

A Methodist pastor has been drawing the deadly parallel in *Zion's Herald*.

One of his illustrations shows that a certain lady, Mrs. A., entertained eight intimate friends at a dinner and took the whole party to the theater.

On the other side, her church records show that she contributes \$3.60 a year to the missionary societies. And yet she considers herself a deeply interested member, of eighteen years standing in these organizations.

This presentation fits in well with something THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN had to say recently about three cents a day for the church, and about the supplicating which the churches have to do to obtain even that much per member to carry on the great work for God.

Mrs. A feels that \$3.60, plus her deep interest in the Master's work, is all that she ought to contribute.

But when it comes to worldliness, she not only has to have a deep interest but she has to spend \$36.00—or more—in an evening, for dinner and a theater party.

Some people of this country are paying to the Lord only a tithe of what they gladly give to the devil. They are making \$3.60 of investment in heaven and \$36.00 investment in the other place—and it is a safe guess that they will go where most of their money goes. They like it so well here they would probably be lonely without it hereafter.

THE NEW TAX LAW

The compromise income tax bill, definitely unsatisfactory to Secretary Mellon and not entirely pleasing to President Coolidge, has been signed and is now law.

Secretary Mellon has objected to the measure upon three definite grounds, and many financiers agree with him.

First, it is repressive of business progress by its heavy surtax upon large profits. It is felt, and upon tenable ground, that when tax becomes almost confiscatory in its magnitude, it places heavy restraint upon human ambition and endeavor.

The second ground is that it will not produce revenue enough for the calculated expenditures of the Government.

The third reason is that the bill requires publicity of income tax returns.

For a time it was thought that the President might veto the bill, but the impracticability of returning it to Congress with any expectation that a better law could be procured in time for the country's needs, compelled him to sign. The President has expressed hope that this measure will be operative until such time as Congress can produce a law which will be better suited to the nation's extremity.

The principal points of interest to the public in the new law are these:

Single individuals are granted an ex-

emption of \$1,000, and heads of families \$2,500.

The normal tax rate is 2 per cent upon the first \$4,000 of net income; 4 per cent upon the next \$4,000 of net income; and 6 per cent upon the amount of income in excess of \$8,000.

The surtax begins upon income which passes \$10,000 per annum; and rises until it reaches the point where the Government would take \$170,000 on \$500,000 of income, and 40 per cent of all additional income.

The rates of the tax range from 1 per cent of a net estate not in excess of \$50,000, to 40 per cent of a net estate which exceeds \$10,000,000.

Beginning with the calendar year 1924, the tax is imposed upon transfers by gifts, of any property—whether made directly or indirectly; and this rate is the same as the estate tax.

There are many and minor changes, several of which make for simplicity of operation.

The law creates a board of tax appeals, whose members are for the present to be appointed, and the practice before this board will be the same as that which has been instituted as a practice before the Interstate Commerce Commission.

There are three public provisions which, taken as a whole, will permit any sufficiently aggressive person to learn the amount of tax paid by any individual taxpayer, and likewise the source of income of such individual taxpayer.

In giving his signature, the President has said the worst and the best of the bill.

Altogether the new law may be regarded as a makeshift, necessary for the immediate conduct of the United States finances, but which ought soon to be replaced by something greatly better.

MANNERS AND MORALS MOULDED BY MOVIES

The *Wall Street Journal* has been running a series of articles on the moving picture industry.

These are written by an expert who has all the inside information. The evident purpose is to impress favorably the financial consciousness of America, so that the stocks and bonds of moving picture companies may have a standing in the money markets.

With that object we have no controversy. Many of the moving picture securities may be sound and profitable investments.

But there is an aspect of the matter presented by the special writer, Mr. L. W. Boynton, in his article of May 16, 1924, which demands consideration by all the people of this country, whether investors or not. He says that the moving picture is a part of the daily life of millions of the people—that it influences their dress, their habits of thinking and their conduct. And this probably true assertion supplies a basis upon which the thoughtful people of this country ought to make their estimate of the moving picture; and it also furnishes incentive for the care which law and social groups and individual citizens ought to give to the business. The moving picture gives example of dress to young people. The moving picture gives an ideal of conduct to young people. The moving picture gives trend to the thought of young people.

The moving picture, then, quite as much as the home, is making the character of the next generation.

Is it too much to ask that this overwhelming influence upon the life of the coming America shall be under censorship of the most rigid character?

We pass most stringent laws and we have most exacting administration of the laws against narcotics, because these drugs poison the body.

Why then shall we not have an equally exacting discrimination made in order that no picture shall poison the mind or soul of America?

Mr. Boynton does not overstate the effect of the moving picture upon the individual life of America. And in his very favorable comment upon the magnitude and finances of the business, he tells why it is so difficult to procure a kind of regulation which would be a proper protection of society.

The moving picture business is now the eighth industry of the United States. Its total capitalization is one billion five hundred millions of dollars.

It employs more than three hundred thousand people as its permanent staff, with hundreds of thousands of others casually or indirectly engaged.

It spends more than five million dollars a year in newspaper and magazine advertising. It receives more than five hundred millions—half a billion dollars—from the public in the form of admission fees. This is the business whose financial power and whose influence upon the mind of growing America must be most seriously considered by our citizenship.

Hon. Will H. Hays is the czar of the moving picture industry. We are glad to express the assurance that, under his direction, some of the abuses and some of the reckless defiances of decency which characterized the business before he assumed his dictatorship, have been eradicated. But Mr. Hays has a long journey to go, before the pictures can be made safe for growing America. Despite the slight improvements which he has effected, it will be a dreadful America in which to live in twenty-five years from now, if the ideals of dress and conduct and thought supplied by the moving picture of today shall be the embodied character of America in that next quarter of a century.

There is no time for delay.

The pictures must be made better or America will be made worse.

Every citizen, and particularly Mr. Hays, ought to realize what the moving picture special writer himself says of this case: "The moving picture forms the ideals of dress, of conduct and of thought for the American people."

What are these ideals to be?

PARTNERSHIP WITH THE DEVIL

In the ten months ending April 30, 1924, the Government of the United States collected \$165,109,230.57 as a tax on "small cigarettes."

Some time the people will look at a fact like that, with the shame which we now feel when we contemplate the Government figures on the whisky license of ten years ago.

That \$165,109,230.57 is our share of a partnership in one branch of the devil's business.

And we pay many times over for every dollar of that assumed profit.

The nation pays, in the destruction of its manhood and the misery of its womanhood, a thousand times more than it ever gains in money from the cigarette—just as it paid a thousand times more in money as well as in misery, for all the gain made from whisky.

The only way the cigarette manufacturers can cover their fabulous advertising costs, is to constantly enlarge the market for their goods by seducing young people into smoking. They have a thoroughly systematized department of pandering.

The Government gets about two hundred million dollars a year for the licenses issued to these people to do two billion dollars worth of damage to the health of our people, and incalculable damage to their morals.

That is about as rotten an investment as the nation can make.

CRUELTY CAMOUFLAGED AS "BOXING MATCH"

The expected happened; the prize fight between Carpentier and Gibbons was "pulled off" at Michigan City, Indiana, on May 31.

Rev. Wm. S. Fleming, for The National Reform Association, made a most urgent appeal to Governor Branch of Indiana, to intervene and prevent the violation of law and the assault upon public decency.

Dr. Fleming went to Indianapolis and had a personal interview with the Governor; he obtained protests from the Methodist General Conference and the Presbyterian General Assembly, and he filed a most dignified and comprehensive argument in the case.

All the effort was in vain. The fight took place.

The only excuse made for exhibitions of this kind, is that they are boxing matches.

That brazen falsehood of an excuse is worse than acknowledged defiance of the law. At least the latter would have the boldness of its own sinful determination.

As Dr. Fleming said, "A prize fight is a prize fight, from the first blow which is struck, to the last." It is a petty evasion to call that bloody contest a boxing match.

Indiana and every other state which permits such things, is ministering to the barbarous and immoral tendencies of mankind. The worst periods of the world's history, those which have shown the most vicious descent into iniquities, are those which have been characterized by the popular thirst for cruel sports.

Surely we are seeing enough in the newspapers nowadays about the decadent disregard for human life and virtue and sanctity, without the deliberate public encouragement of sadism, under the patronage or the protection of officers of the law.

PRACTICAL MEASURE TO PREVENT LYNCHING

Herbert Quick, the author, has found a somewhat original way to end lynching. That is to say he has put an old suggestion into a new and dramatic setting of words, which challenges the attention of our lawmaking and law enforcing officary.

Mr. Quick says that the cure for this mob evil is not in any statute of the United States, but that it lies within the province of the individual states themselves.

They should adopt and execute laws under which any officer from whom a person is taken by violence, shall automatically lose his position.

This may seem a hardship when first considered; since many officers in offering resistance might be in danger of losing their lives. But Mr. Quick uses the right illustration. The officer in charge of a prisoner is like the captain of a ship. And one of the glorious traditions of the sea is that the captain stays by his vessel, even when she goes down. The effect upon the individual officer would be immediate. If he were a man of courage, or of a good pride which might take the place of courage, he would hold his prisoner at any risk.

Also the effect upon the public would be very decisive. For all the friends of any man in office would be quick to rally to his support against any mob. And a mob would think twice before attacking an officer whose resolution was strengthened by such an enactment.

Something of this kind must be found because the present statutory enactments and the weakness of administration have been ineffective.

Every few weeks there is a new story of a prisoner all too easily taken from a complacent sheriff or constable or jailer. The officer in charge knows perfectly well that when such prisoner

is taken by violence, he is throwing away the man's constitutional right to a fair trial. And it is that constitutional right which he is under oath bound obligation to protect.

If the officer does not have a proper understanding of the sanctity of his position he ought not to take such place of authority; and a fit man, having taken it, ought to hold to it even at the cost of his own life.

Mr. Quick's suggestion is the most practical solution of this difficulty which has been offered in many years.

THE LATEST WHISKY IMPUDENCE

We see all sorts of queer things developed in the legal proceedings of these times.

Prosecution of whisky cases has provoked defensive tactics to a degree never before known. Technicalities are multiplied beyond all power of the ordinary human mind to follow their convolutions.

Here is the latest to come to our notice.

A big distillery firm was charged with distributing liquor in violation of the Volstead Act. It had been sending out cases and barrels of whisky under certain assumed permits which were on file in the office of the firm.

In the hearing of the case, the attorney for the distillery company objected to the introduction of these permits as evidence by the Government—on the ground that they were forged and therefore not competent evidence!

At this writing, the case is still in pendency. But if the contention of the defendants shall be sustained by the court, we may next expect a forger when arraigned, to object to the introduction of the fraudulent letter or promissory note or title deed which he has forged, on the ground that, being forgery, it is not competent testimony.

Why not? The distillery puts out a carload of whisky upon forged permits which were procured by or for distillery officials; and if these are not evidence of its intention to dispose of whisky, and if they are not competent as evidence because they are fraudulent, why should not all forgers go free on the same kind of a plea?

Happily, we are getting some judges on the bench who cut through all these barbed wire entanglements, and adjudicate justice.

And some distilleries and bootleggers and go-betweens who have been conducting this business, are getting a chance to study their own past lives, and to contemplate their future, while they are in retirement behind prison bars.

DECENT PEOPLE CAN HAVE DECENT PAPERS

James Melvin Lee, dean of the school of journalism at New York University, says that when readers begin to demand accuracy from the newspapers, they will receive it. As a generalization that is true. But, in detail, it is practically impossible to make the demand in an effective way.

Broadly speaking, newspapers desire to be accurate. But the editors are influenced by personal feeling, and too often are influenced to some extent by the policy of the paper. In addition there is the religion of the news-gathering department—a religion which commands "Beat the other fellow to it! Get a scoop!" And the more sensational the scoop can be made to appear, the better the religion is served.

The dear public, also, in its demand for accuracy, would be affected by the prejudices and the interests of its various elements. What would be satisfactory to one man would not be satisfactory to another.

It would be difficult, indeed, for the people in general to make any kind

of definite expression in words, which would be conclusive in the newspaper office.

But this is what every individual can do and what he ought to do. He can buy the best paper of all the papers which are presented to him. And by best we mean the cleanest, the most accurate, and the most wholesome in its tendencies. He can help to swell the subscription list of such a paper and he can speed it forward in its race with its less worthy rivals. He can speak of it to those with whom he deals, thus commending its advertising columns to their patronage. He can write an occasional letter to the editor commending good qualities. And, if anything seriously offensive appears in its pages, he can drop a note—telling that he considers such matter unworthy the newspaper which he has to take into his home for perusal by his family.

The whole newspaper movement is so tremendous, the making of the paper is so much a part of the day's exciting conflict; that the newspaper itself is as much a victim as the people whom it serves or fails to serve. All this is in the large.

But in the case of the individual reader, the progressive remedy exists by which evil in the newspaper which he reads can be repressed and all its good stimulated. A man ought to refuse to receive into his home the paper of nasty character, just as he would refuse to admit into his home a lighted bomb.

The most effective remedy which rests within the public power is that which can be applied by the individual himself. He can stimulate decency and he can withhold his patronage from indecency. And, if this kind of person exists in sufficient numbers, we can have helpful and high-class moral newspapers in every community. Decent people can have decent papers—if they want them enough.

WRONG ANSWER TO FARMER'S PROBLEM

President Coolidge has said that the farmer must be helped. But no really tangible plan for helping him has followed the executive pronouncement.

The farm bloc in Congress, headed by Senator Capper, has said that the farmer must be helped. But the help has not yet appeared over the horizon.

While we are waiting on these statesmen and their allies to devise some means to relieve the man who feeds us all, C. J. Galpin, of the Department of Agriculture, has projected the idea which is assumed to be a total or partial solution of all the troubles.

According to Dr. Galpin, there are too many churches in the rural communities. They are distributed according to demand rather than according to real need. He draws the conclusion that if the number of churches is reduced and those which are left are redistributed, "the economic condition of the farmer will pick up at once."

Where did Mr. Galpin's wisdom come from? By what concealment was it hidden from the world's gaze through these long and distressful years of waiting?

Here is one of the greatest problems of modern times. It has been with us now in an acute aspect for nearly a quarter of a century. In the more recent days it has become an issue so critical that it threatens the disruption of old parties, and also warns of a coming chasm between classes—industrial and agricultural.

Farming does not pay. And yet farming is essential if people are to live.

The farmer might be able to get along without the rest of us, but the rest of us cannot get along without the farmer.

He gets less for his product carried to market than the cost of production; and by the time his wheat and potatoes

are delivered at our table, the rest of us pay more than we can afford.

The crux of the matter lies in the cost of distribution.

The farmer gets for his goods ten to twenty-five per cent of the price which the consumer pays.

Between these two extremes there is room for the calculation and the labors of the ablest economists in the country. And Dr. Galpin, a statistician and an observer for the Department of Agriculture at Washington, finds a remedy in the abolition of many of the rural churches and the redistribution of the feeble remainder.

When Government officials are paid to produce that kind of futile conclusion from such a tremendous situation as exists in this country, it is not surprising that students of our governmental expenditure should talk about reckless waste of the people's money.

If one were to take seriously the figures and deductions of Dr. Galpin, as reported in the newspapers, one must express an amazement quite equal to the indignation. Dr. Galpin bases his views apparently upon this finding: That when there were only 100 churches in the country, practically the entire population attended them; and when the number grows to 101,000 churches, only one-fifth of the people are attending them.

Dr. Galpin's figures are wrong and his deduction is equally erroneous.

When there were only 100 rural churches in the country there were whole regions sparsely settled, where the people could not attend the church service once a year, and where the circuit rider, consecrated, persevering, was able to see each of his communities only once in three months.

It is not the number of churches which decreases the attendance. It is the change in the character and purposes of the population. American rural communities built the 101,000 churches because the people in that

time of building wanted to go to church and wanted to rear their children in the fear of God, inculcated by pastors of their own denomination. In recent years rural communities have been overrun by Godless millions; farms in many cases have passed from cultivation by owners; the tedium of farm life has driven the young people of native birth away and into other occupations; and the thousand distractions produced by our stupendous and terrifying growth of luxury have made their way into the lives of communities.

The problem is bigger than Dr. Galpin seems to grasp, if he is accurately reported. His view of the great question is a feeble and a partial one; his statements are erroneous and his findings are absurd.

The experts of the Department of Agriculture may not be aware of the fact, but it is a fact, that some remedy must be offered for the farmer's loss other than the abolition and redistribution of church edifices.

What the farmer wants is a living compensation for his product.

Also he still wants his church.

4 SERMON IN FIGURES

The best of the condensed sermons against whisky is told in the experience of one town in British Columbia.

As is well known, that province was under a prohibitory law for a time; but there was so much abuse, so much bootlegging, so much fraudulent prescription, etc., that the province took control of the whisky selling business and opened dispensaries.

In one town in British Columbia, in the first week of the government dispensary, the local merchants sold \$3,000 worth of food, clothing and furniture than in the week preceding; and it just happens that the government dispensary sold \$3,000 worth of liquor.

Enough said.

Any person engaged in any legitimate business, who gives any countenance in any way to the whisky trade, is robbing himself. If he has no sense of law, divine or moral, he ought to have some sense of self-interest.

ANOTHER SCATHING CRITICISM OF BUTLER

A fine job of polishing off has been done upon Nicholas Murray Butler by the Citizens Committee of 1000 of New York City.

That once distinguished educator and publicist, now becoming more notorious than famous, claimed that it was generally admitted that the Eighteenth Amendment itself is a violation of the Constitution upon which our Government rests. His argument is that the Amendment and the act for its enforcement constitute a revolutionary proceeding.

In making reply the Citizens Committee points out that the Eighteenth Amendment had a consideration more intimate than ever was given to any other amendment of the Constitution; and that it was ratified with far greater unanimity than in the case of any other amendment.

But it is not such a momentous fact as this that does the polishing of Nicholas Murray Butler. That is accomplished in the direct charge that the chief note of Butler's speech is to encourage disregard for the law, and that the eventual repeal of the Constitution may be brought about by nullification. The Committee charges that Dr. Butler is spokesman for those who are a menace to democratic government, and it declares that his thesis is the thesis of anarchy.

It looks as if Columbia may be looking for a new president before Nicholas Murray Butler accomplishes his effort to tear down the Constitution and the Prohibition law.

THE NORDIC DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

If any credit attaches to any particular strain of blood among the world races because of the discovery of America, the Nordic claim supersedes that of others in the Christian era.

Even the best of historians now agree that Leif Ericsson found this continent nearly five hundred years before Columbus sailed from Spain.

It was in the year 1000 of the Christian era, that the King of Norway, Olaf Tryggvason, sent Ericsson out to teach Christianity in Greenland. And it was on this voyage that Leif Ericsson came to the continent of North America.

There is a strange and unjustified positiveness expressed by some of the historical authorities in setting down the 12th of October, 1492, as the date of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, the Genoese adventurer, sent from the court of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain.

Several of the writers say that the discovery of America is "justly" so dated and ascribed. And yet many of the same authors, in contradiction of their own utterance, give full credence to the saga of "Eric the Red," an Icelandic story of Leif Ericsson's finding of Vinland or Vineland in the year 1000 of the Christian era.

This saga coming down from the centuries preceding the voyage of Columbus, and corroborated by contemporary traditions of Scandinavia, is accepted by scholars in general. And in addition to these corroborations of tradition, there are evidences extant of Scandinavian exploration and even of settlement in Canada and in our own New England regions.

It is not recorded that Christopher Columbus ever set foot on the continent of North America. He explored the West Indies, he touched the mainland of South America near the Orinoco,

and he sailed along the coast of Central America.

No one would detract an iota from the glory which should attach to this courageous adventurer, Christopher Columbus. His was a spirit of heroic mould. He conquered incredible difficulties. To obtain the means for his voyage he had to combat indifference, ignorance, superstition and jealousy. He had to win the favor of a foreign court. And on his voyage, only his indomitable will could keep the prows of his tiny vessels turned to the West.

But when any false claim is set up of some special ownership because of the nativity of Columbus and the religion of his sponsors, it is just as well to set history right, and to show that there exists in behalf of the Nordic strain a claim long prior to that of Columbus.

A WEAK JUDICIAL HEART

A Federal judge in New Jersey sentenced one Henry Joyce to pay a fine of \$12,500.

That's a whacking big slice to take out of anybody's bank account. What was the offense of Mr. Joyce? He had been charged with defrauding the Government out of one million dollars. And he confessed his guilt.

In taking from Joyce one-eightieth of the money he had filched from the United States, the Federal judge left the rest of us to carry the burden of the remaining seventy-nine eightieths.

The judge said that he did not imprison Joyce nor make the other penalty more severe, because Joyce had a weak heart. There are seventy-nine of us that must have strong hearts; so the judge gives no consideration to us.

The judge didn't state the whole case. It was his own weak heart, and not that of Joyce, which caused a paltry sentence. There is about as much patriotism in his heart as there is in that of Grover Bergdoll.

ANOTHER PRESIDENT FAVORS ASSOCIATION OF NATIONS

In a most impressive address at Arlington on Memorial Day, President Coolidge took his stand unalterably upon the side of America's participation in the World Court—the World Court that is; not the Pepper court, and not any one of the Lodge variations to pursue which the President would have to run in circles. Coolidge says that the United States must stand in no equivocal position. He wants us to take our membership in the Permanent Court of International Justice, and to establish mutual covenants by which there shall be a reduction of military establishments as fast as possible.

Entrance into the World Court is the first step toward that affiliation or association by which disarmament is to be effected.

The American people are with their President; and they are against all who would delay or complicate this mighty issue. The World Court is operative. No great juriconsult has voiced any objection to its proceedings. It is composed of the men most eminent in the nations for their high character and their knowledge of international laws and relations. Its work is steadily advancing toward that time when nations shall be as one family in their fraternity.

If our membership shall lead us into the League, so much the better; because the League, or an equivalent association, is a requisite before we can have demobilization of the war making forces in the world.

One of the bravest and best words that Mr. Coolidge has said since he came to his exalted office, is his open declaration at Arlington in behalf of the World Court which is now in existence and in operation.

Senator Pepper may be against

President Coolidge; and Senator Lodge may be half with him and half against him; but the American people are overwhelmingly loyal in his support.

SAFETY NOT IN SUPER-ARMAMENT

Our Congress is moving for a restoration of our proportion of naval power in the latest pact between this country, Great Britain and Japan.

It seems that we have fallen behind in the race and that we must enter at once upon an era of battle fleet building.

And while our Congress is appropriating money in answer to the very general demand that we be not left defenseless at sea, two inventors, one in Great Britain and one in France—now offering their discovery to the world power which will pay the highest—have devised diabolical rays which will disintegrate battleships and destroy armies in a flash.

Whether the invention is as deadly as is claimed for it or not, the general fact is known that, by aeroplane power, anyone of the three nations can destroy the warships of any other nations with which it may be at war. Bombs can be flung from the skies which will annihilate cities, suffocate millions, and reduce steel battleships to helplessness.

Is the defense then to be found in armament or super-armament? The greatest statesmen and the ablest observers of the world are united in an answer that good will among the nations is the only sure protection, and that the multiplication of weapons of offense and defense can be of no avail, for the only issue with weapons of this character would be annihilation by reprisal.

Super-armament of the nations is a back-breaking burden upon the people of the nations; it means destruction not safety.

Special Correspondence from Mormondom

[Our Monthly Report from Salt Lake City.]

"If the church has abandoned the practice of polygamy, and has no intention of restoring it, why should the "Doctrine and Covenants" still carry the commandment for polygamy with all its terrible penalties in case of disobedience?"

That is the question which in some form or other is being asked, and not sufficiently answered, among all the progressive elements of the Mormon people.

Many of these folk, old and young, and particularly the young who have become affiliated with the world in its learning and its business and its social life, are opposed to resumption of polygamy; they are indignant when they learn of a new case; they accept for the moment the declaration of the authorities that the cases are without sanction; and then they get into a state of wonder because nothing of real substantial character is done to put a final end to the polygamous trend in the community life.

Revelation, so-called, stands in the book, with all its fatal admissions of antecedent practice by the original prophet, and with all its threats of penalty upon men and women who, being under the law, will not obey it.

The progressives want the pretended revelation dropped out of the book of commandments; and in its place they would like to have the official declaration called the Woodruff Manifesto which assumedly suspended the practice of polygamy, with all the iterations and reiterations of the heads

of the church since the time of Wilford Woodruff.

In this way only can all the progressives be convinced that the church is quite sincere in its determination to abolish polygamy, and thoroughly consistent and severe in its treatment of the polygamously inclined priests.

The answer to the momentous question with which this letter opens, was said to have been given nearly forty years ago in Washington, by the then delegate in Congress from Utah, a Mormon of high degree, who said that it was not in the power of the prophet to set aside any part of the scripture of the Mormons, any more than it was possible for a minister of the Christian church to eliminate one of the Gospels from the New Testament.

But that is not a correct answer. It was founded in ignorance or in a deliberate attempt to evade.

According to his own claim, the Mormon prophet is the sole mouthpiece of God; and he can make and unmake the whole book of commandments at his pleasure. Indeed, many so-called revelations which were published in the earlier edition of the "Doctrine and Covenants," were left out of subsequent editions, because they were assumed to be no longer applicable to the condition of the church and its relation to society.

So there is both authority and precedent for the demand by the progressives among the Mormons, who want to see polygamy annihilated both as a practice and a teaching.

It is my prediction that they are intending to ask this question with greater frequency and with more emphasis as the time passes on. The Mormon church is seeking to gain a conventional standing in the world; it wants to be called one of the evangelical churches in the body of Christianity—although its own claim at the time of its origin would seem to prevent all chance of such affiliation. The heads of the church want to be accepted as religious and business and political leaders, on equal terms with their fellow-citizens of the country. And the most extensive efforts are being made by the church leaders to effectuate this for themselves.

Such being the case, the progressive Mormons want to know why they too are not permitted to mingle with society in general, without having cast at them the odium which attaches to the polygamous teaching in their book of commandments. They are going to grow more and more insistent upon this point as the years pass on.

* * * * *

The Mormon church has inaugurated a systematic plan for the establishment of nests or branches in many of the great educational centers of the country. Wherever there is a large university which is attended by a half dozen Mormons, these are to be gathered into a congregation organized under authority, and regular services are to be held, with occasional visits by some of the noted orators of the church. In this way, Mormonism expects to permeate the inquiring mind of the student body of the country, and to gain a new kind of membership.

It has been noted for nearly half a century, that Mormonism has not been making any great effort to procure converts among the intelligent and educated peoples of the earth. As has been said many times; "The church has brains enough at the top. What it wants is brawn. It asks for members

who shall be submissively obedient to the instruction of the priesthood." But that policy has been carried on until it has become a reproach to Mormonism; and intelligent and educated people throughout the country will not listen to its message and will not receive its messengers.

In order to give to it a social caste which now seems desirable and even necessary, the church is cultivating those branches and organizations in all the educational centers where enough of its members are in attendance to make any kind of a showing for the church.

* * * * *

But all that must fail of any considerable success so long as the Mormon church fosters polygamy. And, despite all the denials, every reasoning mind must admit that the church *does* foster polygamy so long as it continues to teach that doctrine as a direct command from God, so long as it shields its priests in the practice.

All the fulminations to the contrary by the authorities of the church, are worthless.

Branches and missions at educational centers will never win much standing for the Mormon church, so long as any investigator of the cult can point to that pretended revelation which Joseph Smith procured, after his own practice had become an offense to his wife, Emma.

Polygamy was instituted by Joseph Smith and it is perpetuated in certain circles of his following in Mormondom, both as a fanatical claim or religious right and as an inclination.

As a first step to admission into any Christian fraternity, the Mormon church must prove its sincere abandonment of polygamy, the pet peculiarity or Mormonism. And one bit of proof would be the deletion of the fraudulent revelation from the Mormon book of doctrine.

Dirty Weather Ahead

By JAMES ELLINGTON MASON

By the time this reaches the reader's eye, the national conventions will have made their nominations, and the country will be over its head in a sea of political abuse.

I will have none of it; for I believe that the citizen makes his best judgment when he contemplates the need of the country, and his own individual welfare as a unit of the country,—making his decision upon principle and his choice between men according to their qualification.

One does not need to wait, and I am not waiting, for the action of the Republican convention, to assume that Calvin Coolidge will be the nominee of his party. And assuming that, I am now endeavoring to deal with some of the facts which will be seized by the Democratic opposition, exaggerated beyond all reason, and attributed to the President as a personal responsibility.

The record of the gang at Washington is a shameful one. And any person merely shames himself when he seeks to defend it. A crowd of looters and highbinders went to Washington to dispense favors for a price. The evidence is incontestable. The Attorney-General was next to President Harding; and Jess Smith was next to the Attorney-General; and the bootlegging trust with all its associated criminalities was next to Jess Smith.

And what then? Jess Smith is dead, with a disgraced memory. Daugherty is out. The head of the bootlegging trust is in jail.

So the gang is broken up under the rule of the same party which was in power when the gang started its foray. That is some accomplishment.

President Harding, lamented and revered, has passed on where political misjudgment cannot affect him. I begin to fear now that a glimmer of

the manner in which he had been betrayed had entered into his mind, and that his heart was breaking in the final weeks of his life. The effort which he was making to clean up; the personal word which he gave to the country and the personal example which he set to all his fellow-citizens, indicate that this man was seeking to fulfill to the utmost of his power the covenant which he had made with the country and with God. Whether there was in his soul a horror which came with a consciousness that he had been betrayed, perhaps none of us will ever know. And his successor, Calvin Coolidge, could not have participated in any way in the evil proceedings of the band of looters who went to Washington and who flourished for a hectic season before President Coolidge was called to his present place.

Surely one may admit the facts and sorrow over them. It is a part of good citizenship to recognize the truth pertaining to our Government. But it is not the part of good citizenship to make partisan misuse of sad facts.

If my Democratic friends, and I have many—and some of them in high place, are counting upon abuse of the present Administration for their success in next November, they are making a prodigious political blunder.

The people of the United States are ashamed and sorrowful because of the oil scandals and the whisky scandals and the other scandals at Washington, but they are not ready to turn the Government over to scandalmongers.

With many millions of my fellow-citizens, I want to see the issue of this campaign decided on principle; and whether the politicians choose to put principle to the front or not, many of us are going to vote according to a concept of high duty.

If the Democrats want to win, they must have a good candidate and some real issues. They cannot win on Jess Smith for he is dead; they cannot win on Daugherty for he is gone; they cannot win on the oil leases for they have been cancelled.

But there are some good issues between the two parties and if the Democrats have any patriotism and any political aspirations, they will select principles upon which to make their campaign, and will choose a statesman for a candidate.

THE TWELFTH PAVED WAY FOR THE GLORIOUS FOURTH

BY HENRY PEEL

Americans need not be reminded to observe the Fourth of July, but they may well remember also the day within the same month, which helped to make possible the accomplishment of July 4, 1776.

On July 12 of this year, occurs the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne, an event which should live in history and in the memories of lovers of human liberty everywhere, and especially in those of the Anglo-Saxon race. Though the Battle of the Boyne was in itself merely an event in British history, it had much to do with the evolution of the American Republic. No one nation can claim to be the sole source and inspiration of human progress or to have a monopoly of those great characters who have been the means, under the guidance of Almighty God, of establishing civil and religious liberty.

When Martin Luther nailed his thesis to the church door at Wittenburg, he laid the foundation of the right of free speech and freedom of conscience.

When the Barons forced King John of England to sign Magna Charta, they established the right of the people to formulate their own laws. The pope himself, powerful as he then was,

could not nullify that charter of English liberty. The theory of the "Divine Right of Kings" received its death blow, the day King Charles I. lost his head.

When William of Orange was invited to accept the crown of England, the invitation was given by representatives of all classes—army and navy, lord and commons, who thus established the principle that "The king rules by the will of the people." In the United States of America this principle has been developed. Each President is elected for a limited period only, and by the direct vote of the people.

William of Orange landed on November 5, 1688, at Tor Bay, a neighborhood which had shortly before been harried and terrorized by the infamous Judge Jeffreys with his "Bloody Assize," and a small but stalwart band welcomed the pious prince and accompanied him to London. Meanwhile King James fled to Ireland and gathered an army of French soldiers and Irish Catholics, the progenitors of the late Sinn Feiners.

On July 12, 1690, (July 1st old calendar) was fought the memorable Battle of the Boyne, in which William's forces gained the day. Had victory gone the other way, the onward mark of humanity toward perfect liberty would have been delayed, and no doubt the foundation of this great American republic would also have been postponed. It is therefore well that the twelfth should be noted in the United States. We have to thank William III. for the Bill of Rights which, together with Magna Charta, forms the basis of American law.

All human rights, civil and religious liberty, free speech, free press, and freedom of conscience have been secured at the cost of much suffering. Let us, then, guard them faithfully as a sacred trust.

EDITORIAL

GOVERNMENT EXPERT MAKES QUEER DEDUCTION

In the Outlook department of this magazine is an article based upon some statements attributed to Professor or Dr. C. J. Galpin of the Department of Agriculture, concerning the country church. If the newspapers give a correct report of Dr. Galpin's views, he feels that the farmer's material welfare is to be enhanced by the abolition of many of the existing churches and a new (but undefined) redistribution of such as shall be permitted to remain.

This is but a repetition of the materialistic calculation which pervades the land.

The church has had to bear nearly all the burdens of social progress. And now it is to be charged with the responsibility of effectuating a new system of economics.

If the Dr. Galpin who sends out this word from the Department of Agriculture is the gentleman who is described in "Who's Who" as a former preacher, he ought to know enough about Americans to realize that the church and what it represents constitute the most precious possession of our people.

If the admonitions which the farmer receives in church and with which he inspires the lives of his children can be made effective, the Republic is safe. Our security does not depend upon the vast populations of the great cities. It is true that in any big city we find thousands of loyal people—loyal to Christ and loyal to country. But it is also true that the vigorous moral strength comes up from the country. Nearly all our great leaders are

country born and country bred. It has been so from the beginning of this country's glorious history.

Take away the church from the rural community and it is left to the devices of the politician and the devil.

Take away the church from the rural community, and hopelessness takes the place of that great uplift of spirit which sustains when all earthly considerations fail.

It is the church and the surroundings which the church puts about the lives of the people, which make of rural existence a sweet and desirable thing.

Except for such influence, the lure of the cities would draw away more and more of our people; for there is no material reward in rural life now, which of itself is sufficiently compensating to be an attraction.

The Church is a security for the State. When the Church shall fail to hold the people in rural communities, and when the cities shall swell as they would then be swelled, our decay sets in, as it has done in the lives of other nations. When cities grow beyond the strength of the country to sustain, when their luxury permeates the life of the mass of the people, when their ambitions are the animating cause of human action, when their vices become the common practice,—then nations fall.

If Dr. Galpin has no better remedy for the farmer's ills than the abolition of churches, he ought to go back into the retirement of his Wisconsin life; study the Holy Book; observe the lives, the hopes, the needs of his people; and come out of his retirement with a new vision and a higher wisdom.

THE FOOLISH FALLACY ABOUT THE PUBLIC PURSE

The heedless idea grows, that anything obtained by a citizen or a community from the national treasury is so much clear gain.

Nobody has to pay the bill, so why worry?

Indeed it is the only form of real beneficence or utility in government, according to the notion of a lot of shallow folk.

If you can help somebody without incurring any expense, why not reach out lavishly and make everybody comfortable?

And yet this is the most expensive method ever devised for the distribution of money.

The Government does not have one dollar, except what it takes from the people; and then, after a lot of waste-fulness, it distributes what is left to the people.

The difficulty in bringing this fact home to the consciousness of the casual individual, is that the method is so intricately involved that he does not realize the actual facts.

The citizen pays in 100 cents; a large share of the 100 cents is used or misused in the transmission; and the citizen gets back anything from 8 to 18 cents.

Of course the money is taken from one and given to another, and it is that fact, also, which helps to make the great public so heedless.

Every editor who opposes lavish appropriations receives more criticism for this than for any other one of his sins of omission or commission. Many of the critic correspondents seem to think that all the Government has to do is to appropriate—and then to run the printing press.

THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN is in favor of meritorious appropriations for pensions, for bonus, and for increased

compensation to employees of the postal service; and for adequate remuneration and expense accounts to our diplomatic service, etc., etc. But THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN recognizes that every dollar of appropriation has to be raised by some form of levy upon the pockets of the people. Therefore we are opposed to all extravagant appropriations, and to any appropriation whatever, for which no provision has been made.

In the years gone by, there has been a wild scramble for pork, and fabulous sums of money have been procured out of the public treasury and at the cost of the taxpaying citizen, for which no considerable return of public benefit has been afforded. It was largely to correct this great evil, that the budget system was recommended and finally adopted. Rightly understood, an adherence to the budget system requires that every appropriation shall be co-ordinated with the governmental income; it means that Congress could not make an appropriation without an assured source from which to supply the money.

But the budget system is so new in our country that many congressmen and senators do not fully comprehend it, and have been voting in utter defiance of its basic principle.

Governmental finance should be governed with just as much integrity and good judgment as the finance of a business firm or a family.

The very bedrock of integrity, and the only assurance of success, for business or for the domestic circle, is to keep the expenditures within the income.

And the only way to content the American people with this method, is for them to get rid of the absurd notion that Congress can bless individuals and communities by fabulous appropriations of public money—without compelling the whole people to pay the bill.

TWO SEPARATE ISSUES

A very thoughtful friend writing from Cadillac, Michigan, gives his approval to certain basic doctrines enunciated in *THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN*. He believes that only honest, God-fearing men should hold office in our Government.

And after expressing full approval of the position taken by *THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN* in general upon this important matter, he asks, very significantly, how under these circumstances we can give any approval to Andrew Mellon as Secretary of the Treasury. This reopens the old question which, being continuous, is therefore always new.

THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN has supported Mr. Mellon as Secretary of the Treasury in his extraordinarily able work as a financier for the Government. The question of national finance is a moral question as well as an economic one. The whole civilized world outside of America is in a most tremulous condition. Upon the stability of our national finance depends the recovery of stable conditions by the other countries. Infinite woe—physical misery and moral sin—would attend upon any financial collapse. Therefore, in expressing approval of Mr. Mellon as a financial genius who was devising ways for our country's emergence from financial danger, and its coming to absolute safety in its expenditures and its reduction of debt, *THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN* has been approving what it believes to be a highly moral and essential case.

We have believed, and still believe, that the enforcement of the prohibition law never should have been in the custody of the Department of the Treasury. *THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN* has often made this point. The proposition as originally promulgated in

these pages, had no relation to Mr. Mellon, because he was not at that time in office. The enforcement of the Volstead Act should have been in a bureau of the Department of Justice—a bureau at whose head would stand an avowed friend of the law, a great administrator without any attachments to the whisky business either by personal practice or by finance.

Our friends do not seem to recognize where *THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN* draws the line. We have never approved, and on the contrary we have most emphatically disapproved, the blunders and the crimes which have been committed by officials in allowing the bootlegging business to go on in this country, when resolute and united determination on the part of officialdom could have throttled it long ago. A part of the trouble was due to the mistake made by Congress in leaving the enforcement in large degree under the custody of the Treasury Department. But that mistake has been multiplied into fatal seriousness by the neglect of minor Treasury officials to do their full duty. One might say all this and leave what implied condemnation can properly attach to the Secretary of Treasury, and still have a very strong approval of the amazing acumen of this man, Andrew Mellon—probably the greatest financial genius who has ever been in our Treasury Department since the time of Alexander Hamilton.

As repeatedly said in *THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN* in direct language, and constantly by implication, *THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN* does not approve the failure of the Treasury Department to suppress bootlegging. And *THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN* does approve the efforts of Andrew Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury, to draw this nation out of the morass of financial difficulty into which the whole world was plunged by the Great War.

OUR SABBATH LAWS

With only two exceptions every state in the American Union has a Sabbath law designating the first day of the week as a day of rest from secular occupations and recreations. The two exceptions are California and Oregon.

These Sabbath laws are the subjects of much controversy. Constant efforts are made to eliminate them from our statute books. These efforts at first took the form of attacks upon their constitutionality. But in almost every instance, the courts decided that they are constitutional and are in the interest of public welfare. Attacks of a second form were made in legislative assemblies for the purpose of securing their repeal. By this method the Sabbath law of California was overthrown in 1883. By a vote of the people, under an act of the legislature proposed by initiative petition, the principal part of the Sabbath law of Oregon was repealed in 1916.

The third method followed by opponents of Sabbath laws consists in the bringing of pressure to bear upon legislative assemblies, for the purpose of securing modifications of these laws so as to permit various occupations, and especially athletic sports, games, theatrical performances and motion picture exhibitions.

When these methods do not succeed to the extent desired by the foes of the Sabbath, the law is defied and its prohibitions are trampled upon. Too often, those whose business it is to enforce the law, connive at these violations of it.

In connection with all this active opposition to our Sabbath laws, there is a great deal of propaganda carried on for the purpose of bringing these laws into disrepute. They are stigmatized as "blue laws," for the purpose of putting them into the same class with the alleged code set forth by Samuel A. Peters in his "General History of

Connecticut." While there were some very stringent Sabbath laws in Colonial days, either Mr. Peters—or some one else previously to his day, originated some of the most rigid of the laws given in his history. The term "blue laws" is technically used to designate laws that are oppressively strict, whether they refer to the Sabbath or to any other subject of legislation. To designate all Sabbath laws as "blue laws," is to abuse the term and to display lack of knowledge of the history of moral legislation. One chief purpose of the present discussion is to determine whether or not our existing Sabbath laws are so strict as to merit the stigma implied in the obnoxious term "blue laws."

Since our courts have with singular uniformity declared Sabbath laws to be constitutional, we need spend no time in the discussion of that topic. One question only will engage our attention, namely, do our Sabbath laws unduly circumscribe the liberty of the people?

While the opponents of these laws base their plea on the idea of liberty as they define it, a more logical and a more thorough investigation of the issue involved will be secured if we go a little deeper into the subject and study the question of "rights." Liberty is only one of the rights which civil government is founded to secure. This is the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, and the same doctrine is involved in the national Constitution itself. Civil government is the institution of rights; and, if it fails to define and maintain rights, it is a lamentable failure.

A right is "that to which one has a just claim; a power or privilege to which one is entitled upon principles of morality, religion, law, or the like." All the people have the right to a weekly rest day. California, which has no Sabbath law, has a statute declaring that every person engaged in any oc-

cupation of labor is entitled to one day's rest in seven. Other states which permit certain occupations on the Sabbath, provide that those engaged in Sunday labor shall be granted twenty-four hours of continuous rest each week. While this right may not be very carefully guarded, it is quite generally recognized.

Furthermore, there is the right possessed by all the people, to worship God without needless interruption. This right is guaranteed quite generally in the Bill of Rights which forms a part of each state constitution. Our Sabbath laws are generally thought to be framed for the purpose of safeguarding this right.

Finally, there is the right not to worship or perform any religious act whatever, which any one may claim if he sees fit. The existence of this right is conceded, in so far as the authority and the functions of civil government are concerned. But since, according to our Declaration of Independence, we are endowed with all our rights by the Creator, this matter of the right not to worship, becomes an issue between the non-worshipper and God; and we do not now need to consider it. It is enough to say that this assumed right is sufficiently guarded by state constitutions and laws. No one can be compelled to attend or to support any form of religious worship. There is not a Sabbath law on the statute book of any state in this Union, which requires any one to attend church or to perform any other religious act—except, when circumstances require it, to take an oath in the name of God. Since the rights of the non-religious classes are so fully protected, they ought to be willing that the rights of Christians shall be just as carefully safeguarded.

This brings us face to face with the crux of the whole controversy. Can the right of Christians to a day of rest and worship be safeguarded, with-

out invading the rights of non-religious classes? Or, to take the concrete case, do our Sabbath laws, in safeguarding the right of Christians to a day of rest for divine worship, invade the rights of those who refuse to spend that day in rest and worship? This question can be answered only by setting forth the substance of the prohibitory clauses in our Sabbath laws.

In general, these laws permit all works of necessity and charity, so that any one who wants to do good on the Sabbath is protected by the law in so doing. There are always differences of opinion as to what may be included under works of necessity and charity; but the prohibitory clauses of these laws are designed to settle such issues. Then the question arises as to the nature and extent of the prohibitions in these laws.

A list of these prohibitions will include worldly occupations in general, both in city and in country; all business activities, whether by wholesale or retail; barbering; the operation of mills and factories; the keeping open of places where games of chance are carried on; hunting, fishing, the use of fire-arms in shooting at a target; athletic games where a fee is charged; processions, parades, or anything whereby worshipping assemblies or private families may be disturbed; the performance of any tragedy, comedy, opera, ballet, farce, negro minstrelsy, negro or other dancing, wrestling, boxing, with or without gloves, sparring contests, trials of strength; any circus, equestrian or dramatic performance; any performance or exercise of jugglers, acrobats, club performances or rope dancers; theatrical and dramatic performances; baseball playing in the forenoon; vaudeville, theatrical or moving picture exhibitions; gaming tables and demoralizing activities and performances of every kind.

The laws of the different states are not uniform on these matters, and what

is lawful in one state is sometimes unlawful in another. But the above list includes the most of the secular activities which are prohibited on the Sabbath by our state laws in the aggregate.

The question now to be answered is, Do these prohibitory laws invade the rights of non-religious people? The contention of such people is that they do. They hold that "nothing that is right on other days of the week can be wrong on Sunday." To the ears of many this sounds like a plausible plea. Even some professing Christians are deluded by it. They forget that even human laws forbid, at certain times and in certain places, things that in themselves are not wrong. Much of our legislation is of this character. The plea obliterates the distinction between the sacred and the secular, by deleting the sacred. It is impossible to maintain religious observances, without a temporary cessation of worldly activities. Only a satanic spirit can urge the plea, that whatever is not in itself immoral, may be practiced when it would prevent religious exercises. Any worldly activity, no matter how innocent in itself, and no matter how useful it may be in its own time and place, may be prohibited on the Sabbath if it conflicts with the design of a day of rest for worship.

This plea, if allowed, would destroy all Sabbath legislation; and this is doubtless the intention of those who urge it. Whatever is in itself immoral, should be prohibited every day in the week; and according to this plea nothing else should be prohibited on the Sabbath. The result would be the destruction of all those legal safeguards, by virtue of which Christians do in some measure enjoy peaceful and orderly rest days.

With the abrogation of these legal safeguards, would come the unrestricted operation of mills, factories and all kinds of industries, the keeping open

of business houses, the carrying on of those multitudinous and alluring forms of amusement enumerated above; and the result would be the total wreck of the right of Christians to a peaceful and orderly Sabbath. It cannot be therefore, that any right possessed by non-religious people is invaded by our Sabbath laws. Restrictions placed upon what men call liberty, do not necessarily invade human rights. In this case they protect the most sacred of rights.

It must not be forgotten that the State itself has rights, and no specious plea by non-religious people must be allowed to override these rights. The State has a right to stop its machinery on the Sabbath; the right to worship God; the right to protect Christianity and Christian worship, for its own sake. There is a political value in religion. The State cannot exist without a body of moral citizens. The Sabbath day with its religious activities is the main instrumentality for the inculcation of morals. The State itself should undertake this task in its system of public education; but all available forces working together, the Family, the Church and the State, are necessary to complete the task. The State therefore, as a moral being, charged with a moral responsibility, standing in need of a great body of upright citizens, is under a most solemn obligation to protect the Sabbath for its own welfare.

This examination of our Sabbath laws seems to show that the right not to keep the Sabbath religiously, which the State recognizes, is better protected than the right to keep it; and that the State in safeguarding the assumed right to be irreligious, has, in a measure, surrendered some of its own rights and prerogatives. Our Sabbath laws therefore err, not on the side of severity, but on the side of leniency. But that is a matter that demands careful investigation.

R. C. W.

COLLEGE PRESIDENT AND ANARCHIST

President Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University, resents some of the criticism which has been passed upon him since his utterance against the Eighteenth Amendment, before the Missouri Society in May 1924, in New York City.

In order to show his real attitude, President Butler quotes from himself as having spoken before the Republican County Committee of New York in January, 1924, as follows:

"A lawless people will sooner or later become a barbarous people. Civilization can rest only upon obedience to law, and only those laws will be genuinely and permanently obeyed, which by their own force and reasonableness make appeal to our intelligence and our conscience."

It is impossible for Dr. Butler to correct the impression which his remarks in May last, made upon the common mind of America.

And he is too good a logician to assume that he is not bound by the intent of what he says rather than by its text.

If a man were to avow to his children ten times a day that they must be honest and virtuous and industrious; and yet were to tell them in great seriousness twice every day that his admonitions to good life were altogether too strict, and were responsible for their plunging into a debauched life, what would the effect be? President Butler was dealing with a mind which acts and reacts very much like the child mind. He was giving out sentiments which would reach the attention of every reading person in the United States. And the effect upon the common mind would be that Dr. Butler was condemning an amendment to the Constitution of the

United States because the people could not and would not obey it; because the Government could not and would not enforce it; and because, therefore, the amendment was responsible for the appalling wave of immorality and crime which was sweeping the country. If that is not giving encouragement to lawbreakers; and if that is not bringing the law into disrepute; and if that is not sapping the strength away from organized government—so far as the words of Nicholas Murray Butler can achieve these things—then we are mistaken as to the reaction of the public mind.

As to whether we have been mistaken or not, the public print and the public utterance can clearly show.

* * * * *

And even in his attempted explanation, couched in somewhat carefully chosen words and quoted from his address before the Republican County Committee in New York, in January of this year, Dr. Butler gives sufficient indication to the discriminating mind, of his disbelief in any effort to enforce a law which may be deemed unreasonable, impractical, or generally unpopular.

After telling that the depth of barbarism is reached when people become lawless, he says that only those laws will be "genuinely and permanently obeyed which make their appeal to intelligence and conscience."

As intelligence and conscience are the possession of the individual, and as these are the tests by which the individual shall determine whether a law is to be supported—according to Dr. Butler—, then, in the final sense, law rests upon the willingness of individuals to conform to its requirements. That is exactly the wrong theory of law. Law is expressed as a command or an inhibition—a command that individuals shall do something which otherwise they might not do;

or an inhibition of the thing which the individual might do if left to himself.

If all individuals were by their own nature inclined to do a thing which law commands, there would be no need of law. If all individuals were inclined to refrain from doing that which the law inhibits, there would be no need for the law.

In giving the Ten Commandments, God gave the law under which humanity, despite its own inclinations, should be restrained or impelled.

To permit any man to set himself up as a judge of the reasonableness of the law, properly enacted; and to determine by what he calls his intelligence and conscience, to obey or disobey, is to substitute anarchy for organized and accepted government.

The man who talks on a soap box on the East Side in New York can express exactly the same sentiments as Dr. Butler, while at the same time counselling the overthrow of all civilization; for the openly avowed anarchist, talking from the soap box, says that our present civilization is unworthy of existence because it does not make its appeal to *his* intelligence and *his* conscience.

CONGRESSMAN CELLER SHOULD TELL IT ALL

Hon. Emanuel Celler, representative in Congress from New York, is almost servile in his laudation of Nicholas Murray Butler because of the attack of Dr. Butler upon the Eighteenth Amendment. He likens Butler to David who goes out to fight a Goliath.

And he shows his own courage by attacking William H. Anderson who happens to be where he cannot at present reply to Mr. Celler.

But the most nauseating thing in

the Celler letter written to Dr. Butler, is the statement that a Dry member of the House of Representatives appeared on the floor of the House the 30th day of April, 1924, "actually drunk—in the fullest sense of that term."

Mr. Celler has said too much and done too little. If any member, Dry or Wet, appeared on the floor of the House drunk or half drunk, it was the business of the officers of the House to remove him from the chamber and to prefer charges against him. And it was the business of any member of the House who was witness to the offense, to see that the House should maintain its own dignity.

Mr. Celler himself is the man under reproach. He knew of the case. Otherwise he could not have written to Dr. Butler. And knowing the case, if he did not make complaint in proper quarter, he was recreant.

It is cowardly to tell such a thing to Nicholas Murray Butler in a letter, and not to tell it to the House in a demand that the offending member shall be punished.

It is noticeable that Mr. Celler does not give the name of the Dry congressman.

That kind of miserable stuff—cowardly talk, evasion of responsibility, and statements which are so lacking in precision that they cannot be met with exact denial—are characteristic of the whole Wet campaign.

Representative Celler says that before the present session ends, the liberals in Congress will force a consideration of the beer bill.

Mebbe so and mebbe not so.

And if so, and if Mr. Celler goes where the beer bill will go after consideration by Congress, the junk man will be picking him out of the waste paper sweepings the day after.

THE WETS EVADE ISSUE

When the state senate in New Jersey offered a bill in the state legislature to bring back beer to the craving throats over there, Governor Al Smith of New York said: "I would be glad to go down and help him put over his bill, if that will give us some place where we can put a foot on the rail again, and blow off the froth."

At least that is what the *New York Times*, usually accurate and usually able to defend its own accuracy of report, says that the Governor said.

And when Mrs. Ella Boole, a great learner in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, charged Governor Smith with having made such a statement, she was sharply challenged by members of Congress from New York City. Mrs. Boole was speaking before the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States, in May last, in what was called a "Dry hearing." Mrs. Boole's opposition, like that of the whole body which she represents, was offered to the many bills which are being proposed for the modification of the Volstead Act.

Her telling point against Governor Smith created some consternation. The two members of Congress from New York were quick to deny that Al Smith had ever made any such remark.

But the case stands on the authority of the *New York Times*, and Mrs. Boole is thoroughly supported by the facts.

What has become of the courage of Al Smith's supporters? A few months ago they were out boasting of his wetness. It was upon his record as a sympathizer with the Wets, and his active aid to their campaign, that he was supposed to be running for the Democratic nomination. And it was upon the assumption that more than half the voting population of the United States was decidedly Wet in

sympathy and political purposes, that Al Smith was supposed to be a powerful candidate for the Democratic party, and secure of election if he could gain the nomination.

What has come o'er the spirit of their boozy dreams?

Evidently they have considered the Dry Discretion to be better than the Wet Valor.

They know that the only way to make Al Smith acceptable even for the moment, is to conceal his Wet record.

We are sorry, because we wanted the issue tried on the facts. Al Smith is Wet, and he is a Catholic. Most of the people of this country who are neither Wet nor Catholic would like to see a man with that record go before the national convention asking for the nomination; and, better still, they would like to see a man with that record running for the Presidency, after being nominated by any party.

Two issues would be set at rest for some time to come.

TAMMANY AND OTHER POLITICAL MACHINES

According to tradition, the Tammany Society was organized for philanthropic purpose.

In all its modern manifestations, its big benevolences have been extended to its chiefs and their favorites; and those benevolences have come directly and indirectly out of the public.

The continued and powerful existence of Tammany is a demonstration of the effectiveness of that "cohesion of public plunder" which a great statesman once said was the combining force of partisanship.

Tammany is Democratic, and is held up to the scorn and horror of Republicans throughout the country; although it is quite certain that Tammany, at its worst, has been no worse than the George B. Cox Republican

gang in Ohio or some other Republican bandit organizations which have flourished for a time in different parts of the country. Tammany, however, is the most dangerous of the group combines within the larger party combine. It is not dependent upon the life or vigor or influence of any one man or any one interest. When the Crokers and the Murphys drop out as leaders, the organization is still intact, and plenty of thoroughly qualified people are ready for the chieftaney.

With the richest city in the world for its roving ground, there is plenty of public plunder with which to cohere the elements of the society. There may be at times bitter personal or factional feeling, but this is stilled by the consciousness that the great rich merchantmen are always in sight somewhere on the horizon, and that the pirate crew must be a unit in making the attack.

Yet all the severity of judgment which the American people pass upon the Tammany organization, is unintelligent or partial, if it does not include also the great Republican political groups and the great business interests in New York and the rest of the country, which make terms with the Tammany chiefs.

It was notorious for years that the Republican boss of New York State and the Democratic boss of New York City divided between them the pirate plunder.

It is more than a suspicion that business interests have made terms for illicit favors; and by these terms have only enhanced the power of Tammany to demand more and more, with the growth of its power.

It is as if certain merchantmen at sea were to make themselves safe from pirates, by leading other merchantmen into pirate range.

The matter is of great interest to the people of the United States just

now, because the successor to the late Charles F. Murphy is being selected—Murphy's own son-in-law, Surrogate Foley, having refused the leadership—and further, it is of great moment, because in the new leadership it is expected that Governor Smith will express his own personal choice, and will strengthen his chance for the Democratic nomination.

Tammany, like many other combines, Democratic or Republican, is a most sinister influence in our political life, its motives and its methods representing an evil which is always threatening the life of the Republic.

But at this point one may well contemplate the Providential interventions which have prevented any one evil combine, or any aggregation of combines, from long holding sway in our public life. Again and again in our history the great People have risen against such institutions as Tammany, and have swept them into the back alleys.

If one were to look at our situation purely from the human viewpoint, without any faith in a ruling Providence, one could say that the big corrupt political machines were going to crush the Republic to its ruin. But if one hold that God sets a boundary line over which the forces of evil cannot pass, one may be sure that in the coming contest and in the years to come, these machinations of Satan expressed through evil combinations of men, will come to naught. Tammany has never made a President of the United States and owned him. The Republican machine has never made a President of the United States and owned him.

And no evil combination which can be effected this year will permit Tammany to succeed in nominating or electing a Wet candidate—not even if all the Wet votes from the Republican side were to go over and join the hereditary partisan enemy.

FAIR PLAY FOR THE KLAN

One looks in vain for the wild editorial indignation which might have been expected because of the murderous attack made upon S. Glenn Young and his wife at Herrin, Illinois.

The papers which front-paged all stories from special correspondents instructed to look up any real or fancied outrages or illegal enforcements of law by members of the Klan, have maintained a dense quietude concerning the attempted assassination of Mr. and Mrs. Young.

S. Glenn Young was moral leader of the great clean-up at Herrin. Officers of the law were aided by Klansmen, and S. Glenn Young, an experienced secret service man, guided the whole movement.

The bootleggers, rumrunners, and gunmen were pursued and prosecuted, until Herrin and Williamson County became at least habitable for law-abiding American citizens. And after the splendid work of Glenn Young, while he and his wife were driving in their automobile, they were shot from ambush.

A rifle bullet struck Mrs. Young, and the sight of one eye was totally destroyed and she was otherwise terribly injured. Glenn Young himself was shot through the legs.

The evidence against the "Bloody Williamson" gang is far more definite than most of the evidence which was accumulated by sensational newspapers against the Klan; and yet, upon flimsy showing, the Klan was condemned in detail and in general as a lawbreaker.

Perhaps all the indignation which was in stock in such newspaper offices was exhausted before the attempted assassination of Mr. and Mrs. Young.

THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN deploras mob violence in every form, whether the outrage be committed by organized or unorganized people, whether committed by agents of secret societies or

by openly defiant bands of brigands. There is, in our view, a better way to reach law enforcement than by the efforts of any private organization, no matter what the motive.

But one cannot refrain from noting the great difference which is shown in some of the leading newspapers of the country. They instructed and procured and published the most sensational and, in many respects, the most unfounded articles against the Klan. And they have little or no editorial reproach to utter against the violence which attempted the assassination of a law enforcement officer and his young wife.

It is just that sort of thing which stimulates secret organizations to protect the lives and the laws of Americans.

THE CONTINUOUS OBJECTORS

The cheapest of all cheap oppositions is that which agrees with the righteousness or necessity of a certain proceeding or accomplishment, and yet constantly objects to every method by which it is to be attained.

Men who do not dare to stand out in the open and object to a measure in its essence or its spirit, will find technical fault with its form; and by interminable and captious objection will defeat the very thing which they say they favor. It has been just this kind of opposition which has been manifested by certain senators of the United States, to the entrance of our country into the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Nearly the whole nation has been beseeching the Government to take such steps as will place the United States in her proper place of authority with an official appointee sitting on the bench of this World Court.

President Harding favored it. President Coolidge favors it.

There does not seem to be any substantial reason which the human mind can conceive, why the recommendations of these two Presidents should be ignored.

Yet Senator Lodge objected. He fashioned a little fanciful tribunal of his own to take its place. If he could have had his way, the whole of the mighty structure standing now for the safety of the world would have been shattered to make room for the Lodge concept.

Under the pressure of the political situation Senator Lodge seems to have yielded in the intensity of his opposition to the existing tribunal, and in his demand for something to supersede it.

If this is to be his purpose in the next session of Congress, the country may congratulate itself upon it. But we have fear that the apparent concession, just on the eve of conventions and elections, is partly due to political expediency; and that, after the elections are safely over, the old opposition will again arise.

This is not an ill-natured prognosis. It is founded on experience. The country cannot forget. Mr. Lodge himself was at one time an urgent advocate of the League of Nations. Nor can it forget that after the country had been converted by Root, Taft, Roosevelt and other great leaders to the idea of the League, Mr. Lodge became the bitter opponent of that mighty enterprise for the fraternization of the peoples of the world. In the meantime the prayerful and reverent people of this nation are praying that the President's policy may prevail and that we may enter the Permanent Court of International Justice; and that following this, we shall enter into an association of nations promised by President Harding or into the League of Nations favored by his predecessor.

THE GOVERNMENT STILL LIVES

It is no wonder that Jess Smith put himself out of the way, or was put out of the way by somebody else.

The net was closing in on him. Recent revelations made at Washington show that certain agencies of the Government, particularly those connected with the prosecution of offenders against the Volstead Act, took their orders direct from Jess Smith. He was an habitué of the halls and the private rooms of the Department of Justice, and was feared, if not honored, by officialdom in general.

There seems no reason to doubt that he put immunity on the auction block; he was his own capper for the game; when customers did not come to him, he went out and hunted buyers of this immunity, of which he had an inexhaustible stock.

It is sufficiently now in evidence, to justify the assertion that he received hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of dollars—not all of which he kept, but a percentage of which remained with him. For he died rich after having gone to Washington poor.

It is desirable to observe a consideration of the memory of the dead; but in this case one is obliged to use the name of Jess Smith in describing a pestilence at Washington which is worse than the bubonic plague.

One of the abominations of monarchy leading to its overthrow in every progressive period of the world's history, has been in the power accorded to corrupt favorites at court.

For the first time in American history, we have had that corruption full-bodied and in open action at the capital of this country.

Thank God it was detected in time, or we should have had ruin piled on ruin.

As it is, some are dead, some are in retirement, some will be in jail; and the Government at Washington still lives.

The Balky Bonus

BY BENJAMIN JENNE

Well, the congressmen and senators at Washington took counsel of their own political needs at home, and both Houses passed the bonus bill over the President's veto.

You may call it a bonus, if you like; you may call it adjusted compensation, if you prefer. But in the main, it is a measure to bestow an insurance policy upon each one of our veterans of the World War.

More than 3,000,000 of the Boys will be entitled to these insurance policies, and can receive them by making the proper applications; while nearly 400,000 of them will be paid small amounts of cash.

The element of the bill which faintly justifies the claim that it is an adjusted service pension measure, is found in the provision that the service of a soldier who was at home is to be calculated on the basis of \$1 a day, and the service of the man who went overseas is to be calculated at \$1.25 per day.

The average value of the policy is figured at \$962.

In other articles, I have expressed a most positive favor in behalf of a bonus for the Boys. It seemed only logical that we should be as grateful to them after they came back, as we were proud of them when they went over.

I have not much use for the kind of gratitude which is only "a lively sense of favors yet to come."

If we throw ourselves back into 1916 and 1917, we will realize that the man would have been in danger of lynching, who had said that, after Our Boys should win the war, the country would squabble for six years over the granting of an adjusted compensation to them.

In common with many others, I have deplored the long and acrimonious controversy which has ensued. The Boys were entitled to all that we could do for them. Men who stayed at home received treble and quadruple wages in occupations of peace and safety. The Boys who went can never be quite the same in a physical sense—some of them are terribly shattered; and we have been petty to the last degree, in withholding from them the reasonable amounts of money which could start them properly in their vocations after their return.

But I do not like this bonus bill. And I am sorry that the President's veto did not prevail. If there were no other reason, I should regret the enactment of this measure into law, because it is a certainty that the whole controversy will be renewed within two of three years.

We have not made suitable financial provision by our tax measures for carrying the sum of money which will immediately become a charge and an increasing annual charge; and we have not done enough to really put the veteran on his feet.

The issue will remain in politics and it will grow in magnitude. And the whole bonus controversy will be fought over and over again in the two Houses of Congress.

Carrying the measure over the veto of the President is a protection to senators and representatives, because they can go home and testify that they did the best they could for the Boys. But it is a safe venture that if there had been no political campaigns in the home districts or states upon which devolved the political welfare of senators and representatives, the thoughtful vote of President Coolidge would have been sustained.

Self Preservation for America

BY JUNIUS CHANNING QUINCY

No one can charge Hon. James J. Davis, Secretary of Labor, with having any prejudice against people of foreign birth. He himself was born at Tred-egar, South Wales.

And no one can justly charge him with any lack of sympathy for the people who engage in manual labor to produce wealth from the primary elements. For he himself was at one time a puddler's assistant in the steel mills of the Pittsburgh district.

But James J. Davis is more than an immigrant; he is more than a successful laborer; he is distinctively an American, as intense in his loyalty to the American ideals as if he and his forebears had been for generations a native product.

And this is a condensation of some of the things that Secretary Davis is telling to the country:

There are eight million unnaturalized aliens in the United States.

Our insane asylums harbor foreigners to the extent of twenty-seven per cent of their inmates; most of these are brought in between the ages of 22 and 32; and they remain, on an average, until they are 67 years of age.

America has been the dumping ground of all Europe for a century. Our statistics show that 4,223,528 aliens in this country are classed as inferior; and, of these, fifty per cent are classed as very inferior, so much so that it is a question whether the labor performed by them is worth the cost of the necessary supervision. Our Army and Navy combined could not stop, in its entirety, the smuggling of aliens into this country. They come in at the rate of 100 a day along a sea coast which measures 3,200 miles.

Americans may well stand appalled in contemplation of the foregoing facts. Distressing as they are, I am very glad to have them stated upon such high and unprejudiced authority as that of Secretary Davis. No one can reasonably accuse him of taking a biased view. No

one will dare to contend against his findings, for they were published after a careful survey. And no one will dare to assert that his warning is uttered too early or too violently.

If we could assimilate the immigrant, and Americanize him within the first five or ten years of his coming here, our best resources of natural wealth, our energetic and industrial life, and our abundant power of consumption might very well be trusted to absorb the immigrant and his toil.

But we cannot assimilate him. And no one but himself can Americanize him. So long as he holds foreign ideals, or lack of ideals, so long as he huddles in un-American surroundings with people whose highest conception is that of gross materialism, and so long as he becomes naturalized largely in order that he may cast a vote at the command of some padrone; he is as much a menace as the black smallpox turned loose without quarantine in a community.

He is as much a danger to himself as he is to our institutions.

If we have no sense of self-protection, if our benevolence is so demented that we feel it must neglect our own people in order that it may envelop everyone not our own, let us at least take heed that we devise such means as to prevent him from injuring himself—this alien. Back in his own country and under conditions with which he is familiar, he is less likely to injure himself than if he be turned loose here with riotous wages, with new conditions, and with political institutions of which he has so little understanding that his first incentive is to overthrow them.

America is for Americans.

I think I shall take that for my daily slogan.

Civilization or War?

By CHARLES E. JEFFERSON

[By special permission THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN reprints in the following pages, parts of a sermon delivered by the Rev. Charles E. Jefferson, D.D., LL.D., pastor of Broadway Tabernacle, New York, on Sabbath morning, May 18, 1924.]

"Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called sons of God."

MATTHEW. 5:9.

I stress the word "makers" in order that you may not think that it is a passive virtue which our Lord is here extolling. It is often assumed that the persons referred to are the peaceable, —the inoffensive, the peaceloving; but Jesus does not have these people just now in mind. Such persons deserve a beatitude, but this beatitude is not for them. Jesus is thinking of an active virtue—a virtue which is aggressive and energetic, and which achieves. He says—"Blessed are the peacemakers—the men who create peace, work for peace, establish peace."

He is challenging a popular beatitude of his day—"Blessed are the warmakers, for they are sons of God." Nearly everybody believed that. The only men who were permitted to ride under triumphal arches were men who made war successfully. Jesus strikes at the beatitude by saying—"Blessed are the men who make peace successfully, for they shall be recognized to be sons of God."

Jesus of Nazareth has many titles, but the proudest of them all is "Prince of Peace." A Christian who follows Jesus in sincerity and truth, is by virtue of his calling a peacemaker. What is the Christian Church but an organization of men and women dedicated to the cause of peace?

The problem of world peace is the most important problem about which any man or woman in our generation can think; and yet many people do not think about it at all.

If we have any disposition to deal with problems, we take hold of the problems which are local. The international problem seems vague and far away. It is so far off it does not grip the imagination. But it still remains true that the international problem is the problem of problems for all men and women who care to think deeply. It is the most urgent of all—the most imperative, the most critical, and the most momentous.

Let us start with three propositions: First, if the church does not end war, war will end the church. Second, if civilization does not end war, war will end civilization. Third, if mankind does not end war, war will snuff out the highest branches of the human race.

Those seem extreme statements, extravagant and incredible. Many of you no doubt find it impossible to accept them. They do not seem to you to be true. You are probably saying to yourself—"there has always been war, and yet the church has gotten on. Men have always fought, but civilization has advanced. Nations have always soaked the earth with human blood, but humanity has multiplied and prospered. Why, then, deal in such extravagant assertions?" It will be necessary, therefore, for us to examine carefully these three propositions, and ascertain whether or not they are true.

They have never been true before. A sensible man could not have uttered these statements fifty years ago before an audience of intelligent people. They have never been true until our own day. They have become true within the last few years. While we go on talking about war, we must not forget that

war is not today what it was. We use the old word but we designate a new thing.

War has now become scientific. A new dimension has been added to it. Up to our day it had only length and breadth. Now it has height and depth. The aeroplane and the submarine have changed the entire character of war. Two new empires have been added to the dominion of the human spirit—the empire of the air and the empire of the caverns of the sea. Within the last hundred years two wizards have been at work—steam and electricity, and they have well-nigh annihilated both time and space. When Napoleon, the Prince of Generals, led his armies to Moscow, he moved at the rate of four miles a day. When Nelson, the Prince of British admirals, sailed in search of the French fleet, he moved at the rate of five miles an hour. Our slow-moving aeroplanes go one hundred miles an hour. Our fast ones go two hundred miles an hour. Space has been practically annihilated. London and New York are only thirty hours apart. Tokio and San Francisco are only forty-eight hours distant from each other.

War has become a new thing. A new science has been harnessed to the chariot of Mars — chemistry. For thousands of years men have fought with solids—now and then with liquid fire, but hereafter they are going to fight largely with gases. Poison gas has taken its place on the battlefield, and there it will remain. We have already learned how to make gases that can blot out an entire city in a night.

Moreover, war is becoming more scientific all the time. A wider application is being made of the scientific principles already discovered. The instruments of destruction made use of in the Great War, were only play-things compared with the instruments which we now possess. The progress in the destructiveness of the weapons

of war has increased within the last six years tenfold. The experts declare that should another war come, the desolation would be tenfold the desolation caused by the last war. If we killed ten million men in the last war, we are likely to kill one hundred million in the next war.

The submarine was a terrible weapon in the last war, but it was comparatively feeble. It had to hug the shores. The cruising radius has been indefinitely extended, and the U boat can now go everywhere.

In the Great War the aeroplane was only in its infancy. It could not lift much. It can now lift 120,000 pounds. In the last war it could fly fast, but it can fly much faster now. In the last war aviators could drop bombs weighing 400 pounds each, now they can drop bombs weighing 4,000 pounds each. Mr. D. B. Bradner, Chief of the Research and Development Section of the United States Chemical Warfare Service, says that we now possess a liquid, two tons of which can be carried in one of our aeroplanes, and two tons of this liquid are sufficient to blot out the life of every man, woman and child in a strip of territory one hundred feet wide and seven miles long. Mr. Thomas Edison says—"There exists no means of preventing a flotilla of aeroplanes from flying over London tomorrow, and spreading a gas that would poison its millions in three hours."

Moreover, a new science is being hitched to the war chariot — the science of bacteriology. General Swinton of the British army says that "we have developed germs which can be dropped upon armies and cities, so that it is now possible to blot out a nation in a day." These germs will be dropped into the water supply, so that the whole population will become infected. He declares that the great instrument of warfare in the future will be deadly germs. It is because of science that we

are now able to say that if civilization does not end war, war will end civilization. That is not rhetoric. It is calm, clear, incontrovertible, scientific fact.

This, then is something which we must not allow ourselves to forget, that war has become a thing entirely different from what it has ever been before. We have a habit of saying—"there are some things worse than war." We cannot say that any longer. There is nothing worse than war. If there is, what is it?

Some of us have always hesitated to denounce war with full-throated condemnation, because at the back of our minds there lurked the idea that, after all, war is not in every case altogether a bad thing. We could not help thinking of the War of the Revolution, and of the fact that in that war we attained our independence. We thought also of the Civil War, and remembered that the shackles of the slave melted in the heat of that fiery struggle. And therefore we have always felt that however horrible war may be, nevertheless it might sometimes be an angel in disguise. But now there is nothing too harsh to say of war. We now know what it is in its new stature and endowed with its fresh powers. If you cannot denounce it now, you do not have a human heart.

War now is something new. There are no rules for war, any more. That was demonstrated in the Great War.

In the olden times, war was looked upon as a game. In every game there are rules which must be obeyed. No one can play unless he is willing to obey the rules. When men play cricket or polo or lawn tennis or baseball, they obey the rules, otherwise they do not play at all. War was a game, and admirals and generals took great delight in formulating the rules.

War is not a game. War is a life and death struggle. A nation that goes into war now, fights to save itself from extermination. No nation will

consent to be bound when its life is at stake. The nation which is the hardest pressed will set the pace in the use of desperate measures, and the other combatants will be obliged to follow suit.

We saw that in the Great War. Germany in that war was the hardest pressed of all the nations. She had only Austria at first to lean upon, and Austria was always a bruised reed. Germany had on her east the Russian Empire with its hundred and eighty million people, and on her west she had the mightiest of all the empires—the Empire of Great Britain, and on her south she had an energetic Republic with bitter memories in her soul, and a desire to drive a dagger into Germany's heart; and because Germany was thus surrounded, her leaders adopted desperate and atrocious measures. The German mind is as enlightened as any mind. The German conscience is as sensitive as any conscience. The German heart is as gentle as any heart, but in the Great War, Germany adopted measures which were so cruel they seemed diabolical. She made a savage use of the submarine.

The Allies never matched the Germans in their cruel use of the U boat, for the reason that it was not found necessary. But in the use of poison gas they imitated the Germans, and went beyond them. How can one nation refuse to use poison gas when another nation is using it? When one nation is mowing down soldiers by the tens of thousands by the use of poison gas, the other nation cannot go quietly on using bullets. And so the Allies began at once to manufacture poison gas, and their aim was to make a still deadlier kind.

Our American people are a humane people. We are not savages. We have tender hearts, but at the end of the war we were manufacturing in great quantities, the deadliest gas then known; and we were storing it up for a purpose. We were going to use it

for asphyxiating German cities one after the other. We would not have hesitated to blot out the whole population of Berlin. That is war.

All the old distinctions have been blotted out by aeroplanes and high explosives and poison gas.

There was once a distinction made between civilians and soldiers. It was legal to kill soldiers, but not civilians. And now civilians and soldiers stand on the same footing. As soon as long distance guns were manufactured, the old distinction between soldiers and civilians disappeared. A gun firing twenty miles away can make no distinction.

There was once a distinction made between men and women. It was considered barbaric to kill women. Women have now taken their place with men on the firing line. In the next war women will be slaughtered by the tens of thousands along with the men. When explosives are dropped from aeroplanes a mile high in the air, there can be no distinction between women and men, all alike are torn to shreds. The aeroplane makes no sex distinction.

We have always made a distinction between children and adults. We looked with horror on the Indians because they made it a practice to kill babies. They killed babies because they knew that babies would grow up to be warriors, and why not kill them at the start? We have come around to the position of savages—we kill babies. We must kill them, for there is no other way in which to conduct a scientific war. In a blockade babies are the first to be starved to death, and in air raids the babies along with their mothers are blown to atoms. That is the meaning of scientific war.

Let me repeat, therefore, my first proposition: If the church does not end war, then war will end the church. It is foolishness to go on talking about Jesus of Nazareth being the Saviour

of the World, if He cannot save the world from war. What is the use of being saved from anything if we cannot be saved from war? If Jesus Christ cannot save us from war, then humanity cannot be saved at all; there is no Saviour; all talk about a World's Redeemer is nonsense. If humanity cannot be saved from war, then there is no salvation; we are headed for destruction, and no one can save us. It behooves the church, therefore, to do its utmost to prevent the coming of another war. The last war inflicted a wound upon the Church of Christ, from which it will not recover in a hundred years. Another war would compel the church to close its doors and to go out of business.

If civilization does not end war, then war will end civilization. In the last war it was difficult to protect hospitals and libraries and art galleries. In the next war it will be utterly impossible to save any of them. The military experts are agreed that with the present instruments of destruction, it will be easily possible to hurl the world back into the dark ages again. If mankind does not put an end to war, then war is going to extinguish the most highly cultivated sections of the human race. In the next war it will not be the undeveloped peoples of Central Africa who will be annihilated, it will be the men and the women who belong to the races which have cultivated the arts of life most successfully, and have built up a culture which gave promise of a glorious future.

And now I am ready to make another startling announcement. We are getting ready for the next war! It seems incredible, but it is an indisputable fact. Europe is getting ready for the next war, and so are we. It seems strange that we should be doing this, for it was only a short time ago that we heard speakers on every hand declaring joyfully that we were in a war to end war. "This is the last

war!" Did we not hear it all through 1917 and 1918? "Never again!" That was the slogan which rang all over Great Britain, and all over the United States. Mothers said it to themselves in order to brace their hearts to say "goodbye" to their sons. Young men pondered it as they marched bravely toward the fields of blood. It lifted the whole war to a sacred level—this declared purpose to make it the last war that should ever disgrace or devastate the world. And now in less than six years, we are preparing for another war.

It reminds one of a sad sentence which the great philosopher Hegel wrote—"One thing we learn from history—that mankind does not learn anything from history." That is a tragic statement, all the more tragic because it is true. Mr. Lloyd George has repeatedly said within the last few years that—"The world has not learned one syllable from the war." That is an awful fact, and it cannot be successfully contradicted. Herbert Spencer, when an old man, said that when he was young he started out with the assumption that man is a rational creature, but he had come to see that he was mistaken. There is a letter in the biography of Walter Hines Page which ought to be burned into the mind and heart of every man now alive. It is his letter to Colonel House, in which he says—"Militarism has no judgment. * * * No power on earth could have prevented it (the war). We have got to see to it that this system does not grow up again. that's all!" The words are significant because Mr. Page had stood at a post where it was possible for him to see distinctly how impossible it was to escape the last war because of the huge military and naval machines. To him, there was only one thing which men must now do. They must see to it that this system does not grow up again. It is growing up under our very eyes!

Our Army and Navy aviators are getting ready for the next war. Early last January the United States Government sent 40,000 men on naval ships into Caribbean waters, to engage in a great war game which was continued through sixty days. They were getting ready for the next war. Some of you have kept track of the bombing which has been carried on off Cape Hatteras. Two United States naval vessels were anchored to serve as targets of aviators. Airships dropped bombs from different heights, and at last the two naval vessels were sunk. They cost millions of dollars each. That is counted nothing in the Navy—to use a target which has cost the Government millions of dollars.

Our Army and Navy chemists and inventors are constantly at work, and every few weeks the papers announce some new and still more wonderful discovery or invention. It was only a little while ago we were told that the United States possesses the largest bombing type of airship, and a picture of it was given in the papers throughout the country. Last December, we were informed of our latest gun, the most powerful in existence—a gun that will hurl a 1,500 pound projectile through a distance of twenty-three miles. The total weight of the gun and carriage is 700,000 pounds, and the papers stated that Army officials have already opened communication with the railroad companies in an effort to secure stronger bridges. We must get our bridges ready for the next war.

We have been informed by our leading chemical expert that we have now the deadliest gas that has ever been manufactured.

As many of you know, an industrial mobilization is now going on. It is stated that there are 700,000 different items used in war, and our Government is finding out just where all these

items can be secured. The country has been organized into fourteen districts. Six thousand factories have already been allocated, and plans for turning out Army and Navy supplies are well under way. In this manner we are getting ready for the next war. It is coming, and the only thing to do is to be prepared for it!

The men engaged in this great undertaking are very careful to announce from time to time that this industrial mobilization is not in any sense a preparation for war, but is planned as an insurance against war.

There is also to be a military mobilization. The date is set for September 12th. On that day the bugle is to sound in every city, village and hamlet throughout the country. The regulars, militia and the reserves are to come together in order to work out more fully the plan of preparing for the next war. Thousands of officers are being trained. One of our New York senators, has succeeded in getting through the United States Senate, an appropriation for the training of 18,000 officers this coming summer. That was considered a great feat, as only 6,000 officers could be trained a year ago. We are certainly getting ready for the next war.

It was supposed by many innocent people after the Washington Conference, that our Navy for at least ten years would not be clamoring for increased appropriations.

Admiral Countz, however, has discovered that our present Navy is totally inadequate as a means of defense. His report makes interesting reading. It is surprising how many things he lacks. He has not fuel enough. He has not men enough—only 86,000, and what can an Admiral do with such a handful as that! The Navy is short in cruisers and must have eight more at least. The Navy is short in submarines. Most of them are altogether too slow.

Four of the battleships have bad boilers. These must be replaced by oil boilers. The elevation of the turret guns is not at all right, and must be immediately corrected. There is an alarming shortage in aeroplanes. Other squadrons must be added. There must be a process of thorough modernization which will take several years to complete. The decks of the ships are not properly protected.

That is the way in which Admirals always write. They never have enough of anything. Taxes are high, but we must spend millions of dollars in getting our Navy ready for the next war. The Committee on Naval Affairs has just recommended an appropriation of \$88,800,000 for eight new cruisers, each of them costing \$11,100,000. Later on \$32,000,000 will be asked for equipment. And \$18,000,000 is recommended for modernization, \$4,300,000 for gunboats, or a total of \$143,100,000. This however, is a mere bagatelle, for naval vessels now become obsolete in five years, so that before one building program can be carried out, the ships that were authorized by Congress are of little use when completed.

The Army and Navy are playing the same old game which they played before the Great War. They are getting ready for the next war, and the newspapers are doing what they have always done, they have been mobilized and are backing up the Army and Navy in their purposes and plans. Keep your eyes on the New York papers and see how enthusiastically and faithfully they sanction every move for preparedness for the next war.

The broadcasting stations are also being mobilized. Look at your radio programs and see how many military and naval officers are beginning to talk. The whole nation is to be educated through the press and the radio on the necessity of making ample appropriations for the next war.

The same old methods are still em-

ployed. The same old sophistries and fallacies, the same old maxims and arguments. The same old flings at international brotherhood. The same old sneers and scoffs at idealism. The same old campaign of slander against all who think there is a better business for the nations of the earth to be engaged in than the business of preparing for the next war. Almost every day one reads or hears references to the "pusillanimous pacifists" who are classed among the bolshevists and anarchists!

The world seems to be caught in the grip of mighty forces, the power of which it is unable to break. There are more men under arms in Europe today than were under arms before the Great War. The same type of mind is dominant today which was dominant in the years before 1914. Men and women were eating and drinking, buying and selling, marrying and giving in marriage, until the flood came and swept millions away; and so now are the multitudes eating and drinking, buying and selling, marrying and giving in marriage, paying not the slightest attention to the growing up of the same system by which civilization was well-nigh wrecked.

What are we going to do about it? Is there any way to world peace? Is it possible to abolish war? Is humanity doomed? Must we go on living in suspicion and fear, squandering our treasures on the implements of slaughter? Is there a way out? I am sure there is. The only way out is by the organization of our international life. Today war is the only legal arbiter of international disputes. Another arbiter must be put in its place. We must have a world legislature and a world court. There must be a parliament of man, a federation of the world.

Isolated disarmament is impossible. No nation is going to lay down its arms until all nations do the same. They cannot act without international agree-

ment. The nations must come together and decide that they will go no further in this stupid and fatal business of preparing for the next war. A British General has stated the case admirably in the sentence—"The choice is between disarmament and annihilation." Secretary Hughes has said: "So far as we can see into the future, we are safe from the slightest danger of aggression. We know that in no power or possible combination of power lies any menace to our security. * * * There is no occasion to vindicate our authority for no one challenges it. There is no reason to demonstrate our ability to take care of ourselves, for no one doubts it. * * * There is only one avenue to peace. That is the settlement of actual differences and the removal of ill will. How are existing differences to be settled? One way is by institutions of justice." His speech was an eloquent plea for a world court.

It is only by a world court and a world parliament that the nations can find peace. That is one thing we can all work for. We can use our voices and our pens in creating a public opinion which will compel our Government to go into the world court. Our Government officials have played with us already too long. We must pull them out of office one after another, and replace them by men whose eyes are open to the gravity of the world situation, and who are determined that America shall play its part in the life of the world. We can work in season and out of season for the creation of the spirit of good will. We can do what lies in our power to foster a better understanding between our nation and all others. We can work with enthusiasm and hope for the creation of an atmosphere in which the finest feelings of the heart come to expression, and the noblest ideals of the soul become incarnated in the political life of mankind.

The Presbyterian General Assembly

The Protestant Church has been passing through a period of intense doctrinal discussion. The protest raised against rationalistic preaching in the pulpits of the evangelical churches awakened an echo which has resounded in every Protestant communion.

The result has been wholesome. The great questions have been asked and the great answers have been given. Preachers have turned from the periphery of Christianity to its heart and center. Magazines, platforms and books and pulpits have been vocal with the great affirmations of the Christian faith. The defender of Verdun, recently deceased, and one of the chief ornaments of the Reformed Church in France, said to his pastor shortly before his death, "Let there be no eulogy; but let the great affirmations of the Christian faith be spoken over my body." The duty of the preacher, the Church, the Christian disciple, is not only to live what is called the Christian life and exemplify the Christian spirit, but to declare the great affirmations of the Christian faith. By them shall men and churches live.

CLARENCE EDWARD MACARTNEY.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. held its session at Grand Rapids, Michigan, in June, and it settled, for the time at any rate, some very important issues. The foregoing message from the newly elected moderator, Clarence Edward Macartney, is a demonstration of the high spiritual tone which animated the majority of the great body.

As reported in *The Presbyterian* the following seven points were gained in this Assembly in favor of loyalty to the Holy Scriptures and the standards of the Presbyterian Church:

1. The election of Dr. Macartney, outstanding leader in the fight against liberalism and modernism.

2. The choice of William J. Bryan as vice-moderator.

3. The election of Mr. Bryan and Dr. Mark A. Matthews, of Seattle, to the General Council.

4. The defeat of Dr. William P. Merrill, of New York, a noted liberal, for re-election to the Board of Foreign Missions,

and the election to this Board of men who are in every way loyal to the Bible and the Standards of the church, such as Dr. William L. McEwan, of Pittsburgh, and Dr. John F. Carson, of Brooklyn, N. Y.

5. The Assembly's adoption of a resolution ordering the Foreign Board to withdraw from all participation with union colleges in foreign fields, which teach doctrine contrary to the Confession of Faith.

6. The Assembly's deliverance directing all seminaries, and professors in seminaries, to see to it that their teachings, whether in class rooms or in books and publications, shall be in full accord with the Confession of Faith.

7. The declaration of the Assembly that the relation of Fosdick to the Presbyterian Church is an "anomaly."

The Assembly made the following declaration on war:

The Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. pledges all its energies to the outlawing of war and to the hastening of the day when nations shall learn war no more. We refuse to believe that the wholesale slaughter of human beings upon the battlefield is morally any more necessary to man's high-

est development than is killing by individuals. We see in war's cruelties, made more terrible by modern invention, not only a menace to civilization but also a definite challenge to the followers of the Prince of Peace.

We invite the co-operation of all 'Christendom in a determined effort to devise such complete machinery for peace as shall insure the settlement of all international controversies by reason instead of force.

To this end we favor participation by our nation with other nations in the Court of International Justice; the submission for judicial settlement, or the arbitration, of disputes; and the investigation, before a resort to arms, of all differences which cannot be adjudicated or arbitrated, reserving the right to control our own destiny and to determine whether or not and when we shall declare war.

The moral influence of our nation, and the confidence of other nations in our disinterestedness, compel us to assume leadership and take a definite part in the movement for world peace. We should endeavor to secure a joint agreement for international disarmament, and also for a referendum on war except in case of threatened invasion. We claim that those who are asked to fight and to bear the burdens imposed by war, should be consulted when possible before this sacrifice is required of them.

We solemnly assert that the teachings of Christ furnish the only basis and hope of permanent peace, and earnestly appeal to all branches of the Christian Church to unite in bringing mankind to an acceptance of Him in order to establish a universal brotherhood founded on righteousness, justice and peace. We enjoin upon the Boards and Agencies of our Church, particularly the Board of Christian Education, together with our ministers and members, to do all in their power to accomplish this purpose which we believe to be in accord with the will of God and in harmony with the teachings of our Lord and Master.

SUGGESTION FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT

In the May issue of THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN, page 32, I read this paragraph: "Chief Justice George W. Wheeler of the State of Connecticut, took the extraordinary step of calling into conference the law enforcing of-

ficials of the various counties. He held nine such conferences, with the result that the general purpose was defined and a general agreement was established. In the consultation it was discovered that a large share of the crimes of violence was due primarily to violation of the prohibition law."

This brief paragraph gave me the idea of suggesting that The National Reform Association might follow this up with a call or put on foot a movement to secure such action on the part of the governor of every state, who might be induced to take such action. Let these conferences be held with a qualified representative of the state, with the law enforcement officers. Before this representative makes his visit to the county, let the facts of existing conditions be secured from some reliable and interested citizen, so that the speaker can speak "by the card" in addressing the enforcement officers.

A case in point. There is a certain county in Kentucky, where it is freely discussed and currently believed, that the officers are in league in protecting the bootleggers. If an agent of the state, or a representative of The National Reform Association could get before these officers (the officers alone) armed with the *facts*, and uncover conditions, this would go a long way in correcting conditions.

The writer feels sure that Governor Fields of Kentucky would not only willingly, but cheerfully, lend his aid to such a movement. The speaker might in making these tours, address the public, backed by the ministers and churches, taking a freewill offering that would defray expenses. With the courts more than ever determined to enforce the law, as evidenced by the recent decisions of such judges as Federal Judge Moorman of the Kentucky Federal Court, there is a bright day just ahead of us.

A Kentucky Agitator.

THE ROLL OF HONOR

Following is a partial list of loyal Protestants, who have enrolled since our preceding issue in the movement for Protestant unification inaugurated by the National Reform Association.

Curtis C. Steas, New Brighton, Pa.
Rhoda Current.
George Current.
Mr. and Mrs. George G. Johnson, Nashville, Mich.
Henry C. Bearry, Indianapolis, Ind.
Mrs. Lou V. Lower, La Porte, Ind.
E. W. Browning, Morning Sun, Ia.
Woman's Missionary Society, Emsworth United Presbyterian Church, Emsworth, Pa.
Mary and Martha Bible Class, Emsworth United Presbyterian Church, Emsworth, Pa.
Mrs. J. W. Gough, Sharon, Pa.
Mrs. H. W. Thompson, Bagdad, Fla.
Mrs. E. Walter, Rochester, N. Y.
Lester E. Connesley, Washington, Ind.
Mrs. J. Louis van Zehn, New Rochelle, N. Y.
Mathena Beekman, Sagamore Beach, Mass.
Arthur S. Morton, Wilkinsburg, Pa.
Grace M. Walker, Louisville, Ky.
Susie Brensinger, Meyersdale, Pa.
Rev. Thos. F. Opie, Burlington, N. C.
Rev. S. M. Hill, Bourbon, Ind.
Geo. W. Hatching, Northville, Mich.
W. H. Smyers, Tarentum, Pa.
Paul B. Copley, Wilkinsburg, Pa.
Z. D. Rankin, Leechburg, Pa.
William Caldwell, Canonsburg, Pa.
Mrs. T. M. Magee, Harmony, Pa.
Grace E. Brown, Ellwood City, Pa.
C. Glenn Brown, Ellwood City, Pa.
Harry W. Brown, Ellwood City, Pa.
Mary E. Brown, Ellwood City, Pa.
C. Floyd Brown, Ellwood City, Pa.
C. G. Moyer, Harmony, Pa.
Mrs. C. G. Moyer, Harmony, Pa.
Oscar Moyer, Harmony, Pa.
T. M. Magee, Harmony, Pa.
Walter J. Magee, Harmony, Pa.
Dean Barkley, Prospect, Pa.

Mrs. Laura A. McRee, Newburgh, Ind.
Mr. and Mrs. Roy E. Quinn, Indianapolis, Ind.
A. G. McCreary, Beloit, Wis.
Robert M. Montgomery, Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. Eva M. Eakin, Pittsburgh, Pa.
V. G. Shirley, Flint, Mich.
F. Julia Eakin, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Mrs. Mary A. Leib, Anderson, Ind.
Hubert L. Obrecht, Pittsburgh, Pa.
W. H. Obrecht, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Mrs. W. H. Obrecht, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Charles Schneider, Atlantic City, N. J.
Miss B. L. McKelvey, Pittsburgh, Pa.
H. A. Ring, S. Jacksonville, Fla.
Mrs. Julia Coogins, Old Orchard, Me.
Oscar Mindrup, Independence, Mo.
J. P. Simmons, Lexington, Ky.
E. L. Crans, Fombell, Pa.
Mrs. E. L. Crans, Fombell, Pa.
Marie Crans, Fombell, Pa.
Cecil Crans, Fombell, Pa.
Wayne Crans, Fombell, Pa.
Florence Crans, Fombell, Pa.
C. E. Fehl, Ellwood City, Pa.
Mrs. C. E. Fehl, Ellwood City, Pa.
Ruth E. Sherran, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Amelia C. Sherran, Brooklyn, N. Y.

FOR PROTESTANT UNITY

If you endorse this movement, clip the coupon and send to The National Reform Association, 209 Ninth Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Coupons for your friends upon request.

*This is a Christian nation.
This is a Protestant Christian nation.*

Its ideals and its institutions—its laws and its customs are Protestant.

I favor a closer unification of Protestants for the maintenance of the Protestant character of this nation.

.....
.....
.....

Spirit of the Methodist Episcopal General Conference

BY DANIEL L. MARSH, D.D.

The newspapers have carried the news reports in the conventional style, concerning the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church which was held at Springfield, Massachusetts, the entire month of May. The things the newspapers report are the happenings of a spectacular character, the legislation adopted, the election held. Readers of the secular press are familiar with the hearty adoption of the proposition of unification with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the adoption of the resolution calling for the outlawry of war, the reorganization of certain benevolent boards, the election of five new Bishops, the restoring of the six year time limit upon the District Superintendents, and similar accomplishments.

However the thing which makes any such gathering significant is the spirit that breathes through it,—and the person who sees that spirit must be capable of seeing the invisible; the one who hears the voice of the spirit of Methodism must be capable of hearing the inaudible; the one who can touch the moving power of this great church must be capable of touching the intangible.

Methodism is peculiarly a church "of the people, for the people, and by the people." It knows no class distinctions. It abhors all caste discriminations. Its General Conference is at once a legislative and a judicial body. It meets once every four years. It is a delegated body. There is one ministerial delegate for every forty-five ministers, and there are as many lay delegates as there are ministerial delegates. The ministerial delegates are elected by the several Conferences. The lay delegates are elected by the Lay

Electoral Conference, which is composed of representatives from every pastoral charge in the various conferences. Thus the General Conference becomes a truly representative and democratically constituted body. The ministerial delegates are, for the most part, the outstanding leaders of the denomination. Among the lay delegates are to be found noted jurists, statesmen, bankers, manufacturers, and leaders of every business and profession, as well as farmers, clerks, and representatives of the humbler spheres of service. The total membership of the Conference was eight hundred and fifty-eight, divided equally between ministers and laymen. The Bishops are not members of the General Conference, but they preside, in turn, at all of the sessions.

One of the passions of the Conference is summed up in the catch word of the day, "Democracy." In the determination of the delegates to be democratic, rather wild things were sometimes done. Democracy and efficiency are not always synonymous terms. Nevertheless the surest way to develop any people is to load them with the responsibility of self-direction, self-government, and self-expression. Probably, in the long run, democracy is both more economical and more efficient than autocracy. The General Conference was determined to have every part of the church represented on the various Boards.

Another characteristic of the General Conference was its progressive spirit. This showed itself in many ways. Taking into account that seventy delegates were present from foreign countries; that many delegates were present from what have been known heretofore as the border states; and that there

was a goodly sprinkling of Negro delegates, it is rather striking that the resolution calling for unification with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was adopted by a rising vote, with only thirteen delegates opposing it.

Likewise it was a foregone conclusion that this great body of Christians would make some deliverance concerning war and peace. When the Committee on the State of the Church brought in both a majority and a minority report, there was general dissatisfaction, because they were both felt to be weak; and the General Conference wanted to say something strong, and wanted to say it with a united voice. Therefore, the propositions were referred to a new committee, and when that committee brought in its ringing report, declaring that "War is not inevitable;" that "Its continuance is the suicide of civilization;" that "We are determined to outlaw the whole war system;" that "We set ourselves to create organization for peace;" that "We demand the immediate entrance of the United States into the Permanent Court of International Justice;" that "The participation of the United States in a League of Nations will receive our active support;" and many other phrases equally strong, the General Conference arose *en masse* and applauded and cheered. There was not a single dissenting vote.

The last spiritual trait of the General Conference to which I shall call attention, was its emphasis upon experience and life as opposed to intellectual assent to creedal dogma. In this, the General Conference was true to the best Methodist traditions. Notwithstanding the fact that many individuals from time to time have constituted themselves heresy hunters and "defenders of the faith," yet Methodism has always stressed experience and life. It does not despise words, but it has such a practical spirit that words are of value only when they be-

come life. We think that this is not contrary to God's method; for we are told that "The Word became flesh and dwelt among us." There were several tests in the General Conference as to whether Methodism would "fall for" the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy, but every time the General Conference moved straight on in the path of progress. John Wesley's dictum that "We think and let think" still finds a place in Methodist practice. We are not afraid to hold the truth of God against the light on any level.

The General Conference was unwilling to pay a tribute to ignorance and prejudice by substituting any other phrase for the historic statement in the Apostles' Creed, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church." Anyone who will read the Apostles' Creed through will observe that only a comma is placed after the word church, and an explanatory clause follows, "The communion of saints." That is, the Holy Catholic Church is the communion of saints. Our General Conference was unwilling to allow the Roman Church to arrogate to itself the sole claim to Catholicity. The General Conference was too progressive to yield to the spirit of ignorance and prejudice that would have modified this statement.

Another illustration of the liberal and progressive tendencies of the General Conference was the fact that it was brave enough to face possible misrepresentation and misunderstandings in removing the specifications from the so-called amusement paragraph. It was in 1872 that the General Conference put into the Discipline certain specified amusements which were under the ban of the church. From that day to this, the more progressive leaders of the church have tried to have the church go back to the position it held prior to that date, but not until this year was it accomplished. And while we "go back" to the attitude Methodism held toward amusements from the be-

ginning until 1872, yet it is a great step forward to place upon the individual the responsibility not to take part in "such diversions as cannot be used in the name of the Lord Jesus."

The devotional temper of the Conference was very pronounced. The evangelistic emphasis was never wanting. Loyalty to the essentials of the Gospel of Christ was never questioned. It was a great Conference, representative, democratic, progressive, courageous, constructive, spiritually-minded.

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON WAR Adopted by the General Conference, May 24

Millions of our fellow men have died heroically in "a war to end war." What they undertook, we must finish by methods of peace. War is not inevitable. It is the supreme enemy of mankind. Its futility is beyond question. Its continuance is the suicide of civilization. We are determined to outlaw the whole war system.

The patriotism of the Methodist Episcopal Church has never been challenged. Neither our motives nor our loyalty must be impugned when we insist on the fulfillment of pledges made to the dead, and assert our Christian ideals for the living. Governments which ignore the Christian conscience of men in time of peace, can not justly claim the lives of men in time of war. Secret diplomacy and political partisanship must not draw men into the dilemma of deciding between support of country and loyalty to Christ.

The world is now open to a crusade for peace. War-weary nations everywhere are eagerly waiting. America must lead the way. Our nation and our Church can do now what we may never be able to do again.

We set ourselves to create the will to peace. We recommend that a prayer for peace be prepared and used at every communion service. Through its educational program, our Church must mold the present youth of all races into a peace-loving generation. We shall launch an aggressive campaign to teach the nature, causes and consequences of war. The glorification of war must end.

We set ourselves to create the conditions for peace. Selfish nationalism, economic imperialism and militarism must cease. We

demand the establishment of the principle that conscription of wealth and labor must be the counterpart of any future conscription of human life. As great odium must be put upon the war profiteer as was ever put upon the slacker. The protection of special privileges secured by investors in foreign lands has too often imperiled the peace of nations. This source of danger must be prevented. The rights of the smallest nation must be held as sacred as those of the strongest. We hold the cause of peace dearer than party allegiance, and we shall tolerate no dilatory or evasive attitudes on the part of those who represent us.

We set ourselves to create organization for peace. Grateful to our Government for its leadership in the movement toward reduction of armaments and the promotion of tribunals for international arbitration, we insist upon a more decided and aggressive policy in these directions. We urge our President to summon another Conference of the Nations for the more drastic reduction of armaments. We demand the immediate entrance of the United States into the Permanent Court of International Justice. The participation of the United States in a League of Nations will receive our active support. We shall elect men to public office pledged to secure these ends. The ballot and other direct processes of democracy must now be employed in securing a warless world.

World Christianity is enlisting in the campaign for peace. We seek alliance with all the forces which make for the principles here advocated. We, therefore, propose that our Church now assume its responsibility by appointing at this General Conference a commission of twenty-five members, composed of five bishops, ten ministers and ten laymen, authorized and instructed to call a conference of the religious forces of the world to consider the best plans and methods for making the impact of united Christendom against the evils we deplore. The principles of brotherhood are plainly challenged. The progress of the kingdom of Jesus Christ is clearly at stake. The issues are so momentous, the opportunity for leadership is so great, that we here and now call upon all people to avoid divisive and fruitless discussions, and to unite their energies in this great crusade for a war-free world. To this sublime end we dedicate ourselves, and for its accomplishment we invoke the blessing of Almighty God.

CURRENT NOTES AND OPINION

THE PLIGHT OF THE AMERICAN FARMER

Its Challenge to the Church

*Professor Walter Burr in
The Congregationalist*

The plight of the American farmer is due to the fact that in the great American game of passing the buck, he stands as the last man in the line. He has been the exploited of all exploiters. Capital must be encouraged; Labor must be given justice; business men must be successful. Back in the hinterland somewhere, in the great "trade territory" of three thousand county seats, was this unknown giant with a constant new supply of the raw materials to encourage Capital, feed Labor, and make business "good."

The present plight of the farmer is not due to a sudden emergency. It is the culmination of long years of this program of exploitation. Our speculative system has been developed at the big city centers to such a degree that the wheat farmer pays out for the production of a bushel of wheat more than he can receive for it on the market; while you, as consumers, pay for flour such an exorbitant price that you suppose the farmer must be accumulating a fortune from his golden wheat.

Our packing industries at the big city centers have such a strangle hold on the distribution of meat that a condition could be brought about such as existed two years ago, when our big livestock men of the Middle West were going into bankruptcy because they were forced to sell cattle and hogs on the market for less than the cost of production; while at the same time

you, as consumers, were paying higher prices for beef and pork at the meat market than you had ever paid before.

Our independent mortgage companies and land sharks at the big city centers have brought about the condition in which thousands of American farmers will this year lose their farms because of their inability to pay the mortgages which they carry. Absentee landlords, investors in tax-free securities and the like, with legal staffs occupying elaborate offices in their city headquarters, have been pocketing their unearned increment and throwing such a burden of taxation upon the man who lives upon the land, that it becomes the last straw to break the camel's back.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN ON NATIONAL REFORM

In a new book William Jennings Bryan speaks with eloquence and force of the importance of national submission to God. He says:

It was a great thing for a private citizen to turn from sin unto righteousness; it was much greater for a ruler to lead a people in the worship of God. And as today, while every soul is of equal value in the sight of God, and every heart can be made a fit temple for the indwelling of God's Spirit, it is more important that men in authority shall have singleness of purpose and be sensible of responsibility. The blessing reaches its maximum when the rulers of a free people worship Jehovah.

They have a duty to perform today, for altars have been raised to mammon in the market-places and many have turned from the worship of the Heavenly Father to the worship of gold. The nation needs today the recognition of God at Washington and at the state capitals. All the great problems with which the world has to deal are due to a failure to obey God.

From WE MUST NOT FORGET

*Henry Russell Miller in
The Kiwanis Magazine*

A man's greatest contribution to his age and nation is not the things that he does, but the things that he is. Lincoln—with all his fine skill in handling men, his sure vision, his profound statesmanship—Lincoln's greatest gift to humanity was the man Lincoln. No doubt his legend has grown with time, but it is clear that even in his own day his people saw and were stirred out of themselves by that great, patient heart that bled with every drop of blood shed by his warring countrymen, that counted self as nothing if only his nation and the ideals for which it stood might not perish from the earth.

TO MEET THE CRISIS

The World's Social Progress Council, of which Bishop William M. Bell of California is President, says:

"All social-minded people agree that a crisis is on the race just now."

And in a most stirring appeal to the churches and to individual Christians, Bishop Bell says:

Civilization must, and can be, carried beyond the present predicament and status. The hour is stressing democracy, while moral duty and individual fitness in a democracy grow painfully urgent. A new world leadership must and will emerge from the present crisis. The note of social justice and righteousness has not as yet been accorded control. Human selfishness and obtuseness stand in the way. The next adventure of the Church is destined to be in connection with the social message of Jesus. He will be heard, for even the growing confusions can but turn the world toward Him. If the Church shall not bravely pay the price of fidelity to His social message, it will forfeit service power and become a castaway.

*MORMONS BUY BUILDING SITE
IN CAPITAL*

[The Protestant]

The national Mormon church has purchased from Mrs. John B. Henderson the land now occupied by the home in which she and her husband, a very prominent lawyer, reside. The land is situated at 2200 Sixteenth Street, in the diplomatic section of the national capital city, and has a very choice location.

The deal was negotiated by Mr. Parley F. Eccles, secretary to Senator Smoot of Utah, who is a Mormon. It is understood that additional purchases of tracts adjacent to the Henderson home are being negotiated, and that Heber J. Grant, president of the Mormon church, is visiting the Capital to give his personal attention and authority to the enterprise.

It is said that a building of surpassing architectural beauty and state-likeness will be erected on the tract by the Mormon church, which is immensely rich. With the Empire of the Pope crowning all strategical heights about Washington with imposing fortress-like buildings, and with the Mormon church thus gaining a foothold in the very heart of the city and on its most beautiful thoroughfare, the people may well sit up and take notice.

Both the Mormon and the Catholic church are ably represented in Congress and in the Supreme Court of the United States. Senator King of Utah is a Mormon, as is Senator Smoot. Former Senator Sutherland of that state, who is now a member of the Supreme Court, is probably not a Mormon; but no man can be elected to the Senate from Utah—as he was twice—without being politically acceptable to the Mormons.

The working comity of the two institutions in Congress was recently exemplified, when Roman Catholic

Senator Walsh of Massachusetts attacked the Sterling-Reed school bill in a public speech in his state, and Mormon Senator King had the speech inserted in the Congressional Record. That enables enemies of public schools to frank the speech through the mails as propaganda, free of postage.

NO COMPROMISE WITH WAR

Editor CHRISTIAN STATESMAN:—

As a minister of the Christian Church, I am heart and soul with all others (and bless God the tribe is increasing) who are trying to end the monster crime of war. But I am not with you and so many others, who depend on humanitarian, moral or other grounds and not on a sound Scriptural basis. So long as men and nations allow that war *may* be justifiable in "certain cases," so long the nations or individuals who want war will insist, and persuade most of the people, that those "certain cases" or conditions obtain in their case. No nation ever unfurls the banner of war without appealing to high heaven to witness the justice (?) of its cause. When men, however,—and especially the great Christian Church—teach the truth, which is that the Scripture, especially the New Testament, not only does not allow or condone war, but emphatically teaches against all war and the causes that provoke it, will those who are in a position to let loose the dogs of war give serious pause before plunging nations into fratricidal strife. When the five hundred millions of Christians (?) of the world declare that war is un-Christian and cannot be engaged in by the Christian without sin, war as we now understand the term will be practically annihilated—and not till then.

Respectfully,

J. A. Boord,
Bluff City, Tenn.

LINCOLN ON LIQUOR

On February 22, 1842, before the Martha Washington Temperance Society of Illinois, Abraham Lincoln said: "If the relative grandeur of revolutions shall be estimated by the great amount of human misery they alleviate and the small amount they inflict, then, indeed, will this be the grandest the world has ever seen. And when victory shall be complete, when there shall be neither a slave nor a drunkard on earth, how proud the title of that land which may truly claim to be the birthplace and cradle of both these revolutions that shall have ended in that victory! How nobly distinguished that people who shall have planted and nurtured to maturity both the political and moral freedom of their species."

MORMON STOLEN PUBLICITY

The *Elders' Journal* of the Mormon church, of May 20, 1924, carries a picture of a vast crowd of people with the line "Georgia Elders Preached to 8,000 People."

The text goes on to say that the photograph shows an assemblage of people at a meeting held by Mormon elders, McLaws, Ahlstrom, Hill and Windsor, in Vidalia, Georgia.

Rather startling that—until you wade further into the story, and then discover that the people had assembled for the raffle of an automobile; and that the Mormon elders obtained permission to speak to the crowd.

But the Mormon *Elders' Journal* tells the story as if the Georgia people were flocking by the thousand to listen to the Mormon message.

That is the brazen way in which Mormonism makes itself important to its own people.

People and Events

Approximately 10,000,000 automobile campers took to the trail in the United States in 1923.

The Methodist Episcopal Church has granted to women the right to preach, but hedges the privilege with certain reservations.

The United Presbyterian Church has decided to exclude the singing of hymns in public worship and to use only the psalms .

On a recent evening, New York was on its good behavior. Only two persons were arraigned for night court in the whole city.

The world's total length of railroads is over 750,000 miles. In 1850 it was 25,000 miles. Approximately 35 per cent of railroads are government owned.

The health organization of the League of Nations declares that the opium produced yearly is 2500 tons in excess of the amount needed for medical and scientific use.

There is still standing in the village of Winkel, Germany, what is supposed to be one of the oldest dwelling houses in the world. It is declared to be more than 1200 years old.

J. H. Astrop, a resident of Capetown, South Africa, has instructed his London bankers to cancel 47,000 francs worth of French bonds, saying that he desired to make a present of the same to the French government. Mr. Astrop's wife was drowned when the vessel on which she was returning home was torpedoed by a German submarine.

The birth rate of Great Britain is falling, but the population problem is said to be increasing, due to the longer duration of human life.

The American Federation of Labor warns its unions against dealings with the Soviet government of Russia. Proof of Bolshevik sympathy by any union will result in a cancellation of its charter.

The Boy Scout movement in America had its start fifteen years ago when a Chicago publisher had his baggage carried to a London hotel by an English scout who refused pay for the courtesy. On his return to America the publisher interested wealthy and influential Americans in the movement.

The League of Nations commission on calendar revision will soon consider a plan for inserting an extra month in a universal calendar year. Under the plan, each month would consist of twenty-eight days; the thirteenth month known as "Sol" would be inserted between June and July; and in leap years the extra day would be in the new month instead of in February. Sunday would be the first day of every month.

In these days when so few able-bodied people write a legible hand, it is particularly interesting to read that Earl Wursthorn, a thirteen year old New York lad whose left arm has been amputated near the shoulder and his right midway between wrist and elbow, has won the public school prize for proficiency in twenty-five penmanship tests. He writes rapidly and clearly by the use of a long pencil or penholder in the elbow joint of his right arm.

Good Tidings

The French Ministry of Labor reports that drunkenness and alcoholism in France have diminished fifty per cent since 1914.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has recently given to Union Theological Seminary (interdenominational) \$1,083,334. The institution has also received an anonymous gift of \$1,250,000.

The Pennsylvania Railroad has issued a general notice to its 211,000 employees, urging them all to undergo a complete physical examination once each year, at the expense of the company.

Fifteen thousand people working in co-operation have destroyed 40,000 rats in Monmouth County, New Jersey. The killing of the rats is said to have saved the community \$400,000 at a cost of \$260.

A commission of physicians from Great Britain, Jugo-Slavia, Belgium, Poland and Norway, which has just visited this country, has delivered to the League of Nations its opinion that prohibition is proving a success in the United States.

Francis M. Roberts of Baltimore, has an intense ambition for education; also he has an invincible patience. Compelled to leave school at twelve years of age, he has just graduated, at the age of sixty-four, from the Baltimore evening high school.

At the meeting of the National Editorial Association a few weeks ago, the editor of the *Geneva Signal* (Nebraska), Frank Edgecomb, who has been blind for many years, was award-

ed a silver loving cup for having led the nation in the perfection of his editorial page.

The Census Bureau has made public the wealth of several different states. They all show an increase of per capita wealth. Oregon leads with a per capita of \$4,182, an increase in ten years of 50.4 per cent.

Eight hundred men, said to represent 17,000 workers in the Tidewater Oil and the Vacuum Oil Companies and in three New Jersey plants of the Standard Oil Company, recently adopted a resolution asking John D. Rockefeller to arbitrate their demand for a ten per cent wage increase, and to investigate local conditions.

Mayor Kendrick of Philadelphia has given up his Sunday golf, the reason he gives being that "as a city official he should set an example by obeying all laws." It would be better if the mayor believed in and observed the Sabbath through obedience to the command of God, but he is to be commended for his sense of responsibility in public office.

Arthur ("Golden Rule") Nash, President of the A. Nash Company, wholesale tailors of Cincinnati, has turned over his own recent stock dividend, valued at \$600,000, for distribution among 4,000 employees. Mr. Nash declared that the dividend, if added to stock which he already held, would place him in the millionaire class, a status which he is anxious to avoid. According to present plans of Mr. Nash the control of the Company will be turned over to the workers in five years.

Books and Pamphlets

Especially Recommended by
The National Reform Association

Collapse of Christless Civilization

By RICHARD CAMERON WYLIE

A great constructive discussion of the fundamental evil that afflicts the world. Price Fifty cents.

Brigham Young and His Mormon Empire

By FRANK J. CANNON AND GEORGE L. KNAPP

This history of Mormonism, told in fascinating literary style and with unsparing truthfulness, has been called by well-informed commentators the fairest appraisal ever made of the Mormon leader and the Mormon community.

Limited supply.

Price \$1.50

Studies in Christian Citizenship

A series of pamphlets by RICHARD CAMERON WYLIE, JAMES S. MARTIN, THOMAS H. ACHESON, DAVID MCALLISTER and others. They answer such questions as: *What is the State? Whence comes its authority? What should be its purposes? Can it sin—and repent? What is its relation to Christ? What is Christian Citizenship? How can it be attained?*

Price (for series) Twenty-five cents.

Concise Facts About Mormonism

Its blasphemous and presumptuous claims—Its un-Christian theology—Its temple ceremonies—Its polygamous teaching and practice—Its treasonable oaths—Its menacing purpose—Its commercial and political power. A series of pamphlets full of clear and accurate information on this important subject.

Price (for series) Twenty-five cents.

Prices given include postage prepaid within the territory of the United States.

Do not delay. Provide yourself with this interesting and informative literature.

Address

National Reform Association

209 Ninth Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

AT THE BIG DESK

RATES—Payable in advance, \$2.00 the year. In Canada and other countries, \$2.25. Single copies 20 cents. Club rates on application.

REMITTANCES—Should be made by check, draft or money order payable to THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN, and mailed to Room 501, Publication Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa. Receipt will be sent if two-cent stamp is enclosed with remittance.

EXPIRATIONS—The time of expiration is given each month on the wrapper. Special notice will be sent in advance. Please notify us soon after receipt of last copy if you wish discontinuance.

RENEWALS—Please specify "renewal" and write name as it appears on the label. If payment is not received in due time we shall not feel warranted in continuing. Please be prompt.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS—Change of address or notice for discontinuance should reach us by the first of the month. Do not fail to give both old and new address. Acknowledgment will be made by change of address on the wrapper.

A MUCH DISCUSSED MAGAZINE

Our office man has been receiving an unusual number of volunteered opinions of *The Christian Statesman*, most of them very commendatory. Happening to be in the midst of a representative group he read this extract from a letter received:

"I believe in toleration. I do not like *The Christian Statesman* always harping about this being a Protestant nation and urging Protestants to get together. No other magazine I read does it. This is a free country. Anyone has a right to say what he pleases against religion or government. Every man for himself and the nation for itself. That is my idea of Americanism."

"That," said a prominent lawyer, "is just what I like about *The Christian Statesman*. If it can get Protestants to stand together for American ideals it can have my vote. What I didn't like was its support of Harding."

"Is that so?" replied a leading business man. "I read the *Statesman* right along. I approve of all its ideas and policies excepting its kind word about Woodrow Wilson. I think we have had enough of idealism."

"Idealism is all right," said a clergyman. "I believe *The Christian Statesman* is all right about a united Protestantism for preserving our civic ideals, if the other denominations don't try to hog the movement. What I don't like was the kind word *The Christian Statesman* said about Inter-Church after it was buried. I believe that Movement was conceived in sin."

"I value *The Christian Statesman*," commented a reform politician, "because it includes the whole gamut

of reforms in one program. That is what we need. Aside from it there is a magazine for every reform. I can't read everything so I read *The Christian Statesman*. But I don't believe the Christian Amendment can ever be put over."

"Nor I," said the hotel man, "I don't believe in tampering with the Constitution."

"That is what you said about the Eighteenth Amendment," said our office man. "But it was the proposal of state and finally of the national amendment that made an issue and crystallized public opinion and popular will."

The philosopher had said nothing thus far. "Well," said he, "I read a great many magazines of all kinds. But I read *The Christian Statesman* to get my balance. I consider it the most essential magazine published today. I have given the office man orders never to stop it while I live. I have fallen into the habit of sending in \$2.00 every now and then with the name of some friend. Then I discuss the articles with them. I consider this my most satisfactory investment. The next time I'm going to use your offer of three names for \$5.00. Gentlemen, if you don't like some one thing about *The Christian Statesman*, do like the wise old cow—nose the thorns aside and eat the clover hay."

NOTE—The expressions above are, in substance, repeated over and over in letters coming into our office.

What are your sentiments? Do not let the philosopher pay all the freight.

Are You A Member of

A MISSIONARY SOCIETY?
A LADIES AID SOCIETY?
A YOUNG PEOPLES SOCIETY?
A PATRIOTIC SOCIETY?
AN ORGANIZED BIBLE CLASS?

Are You a College Student? Do You Need Money?

We have an interesting proposition to make to you
We want to know about you and your needs

Write to
Business Manager,

THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN

Publication Building,

Pittsburgh, Pa.

WHO WILL BE ELECTED?

In the next four months the patriotic citizens of the nation will be thinking about political problems and persons.

One of the most widely heard public speakers of America said on May 27,

“The only way our national and international statesmen can restore world conditions is to find out what God is going to do and then get everything out of His way.

That Means:—

- (1) Familiarity with God's Word and with Philosophical History.
- (2) Unprejudiced Thinking.
- (3) Placing God and Country First.
- (4) Consecrated Leadership and Political Experience.
- (5) A Program for Concerted Action.

All These Are Embodied Each Month In

The Christian Statesman

TRIAL OFFER

From now till November—4 issues—50 cents.

Write to
Business Manager,

THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN

Publication Building,

Pittsburgh, Pa.